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## THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MINISTRY

**T**HE ecclesiastical question of the hour is not that of the laity (as at the Reformation) but that of the ministry. Have Nonconformist Churches an equal right with Rome or Anglicanism? Well, it depends on this—whether I and those like me are ministers by a title equally good with that of Pope or Archbishop. If a Church therefore wishes to show its self-respect, it will go out of its way to be respectful to its ministry—to its ministry as such, and not merely its lions. It will tend its lamps and not merely worship the stars. It is not well to idolize the genius and despise the office, or to esteem only those whom it pays to push. If the ministers do not rise to the level of the ministry it is for the Church to see that they are better selected and trained. And it is for the laity to see that there is a due supply of such candidates as can take the training, and earn the respect.

The Church will be what its ministry makes it. That stands to reason. The Church is made by its gospel, and the gospel is the special trust of the ministry within the Church, as it is of the Church within the world. What follows? This, that the first test of an effective ministry is its effectiveness on the Church; effectiveness on the world is the test

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of the Church which the ministry makes. Neither the public nor the press has the material for a judgement of what an effective ministry should be. Its appeal is to the Church ; it is not to the public that it stands or falls.

The ministry, therefore, has not to be directly effective on the world so much as to make a Church that is. It has not to reform the world, but to create a Church for the world's reformation. Free lances are apt to be final failures. Evangelization is the work of the Church through its preachers, not of preachers who may but use the Church and grow egoistic in doing it. There is no small uncertainty in the ministry at this moment about the range of its proper work (arising largely from some doubt about the nature of its proper message and effect). There is some tendency in it to be acting directly on the world with the Church for a platform, instead of acting directly on the Church, and on the world through it. The ministers, like the women, are tempted to exchange slow deep influence on the world for swift power over it. It is part of the impatience of the democracy. It is the Kingdom in a hurry. It is demoralizing. And it is ineffectual at the end. Radicalism must be slow where the root is deep. You cannot hustle conscience. And a true ministry of the gospel to a Church and through it does not go so fast, but it is a more radical matter than to be a social reformer to the public. For the gospel of God's reign carries social reform with it, but social reform does not carry with it the gospel. Truly the State is real, great, and divine ; but the Church is more real, more great, and more divine still. It is a greater dynamic than the State. And this wholly in virtue of its thorough gospel. By which word gospel, once for all be it said, I mean neither an orthodoxy, a talisman, a mascot, a shibboleth, nor a magic spell, but the grace of God in historic, moral, mystic action always upon racial guilt, theological to the core, but susceptible of constant theological change to meet the mind of each moving age.



What, then, is the function of the ministry in the Church, and how is it effective? It is effective as it is *creative*. It is creative more than consoling, cheering, or reforming. For it wields the New-creating Word. It is first Church-making and then world-shaping. In one sense it is created by the Church, but in a far greater sense it creates it. For it handles God's re-creative Word. The Church can appoint ministers, but the ministry, as an institution of prophets and not mere priests, is God's gift to His Church. No power of men can make any man the oracle of God. 'There is no Shekinah but by divine assignation.'

I am lingering on this word creative. I am pressing it. It is often said that the ministry is there for the sake of decency and order in the Church. That is, it is a matter of convenience. But this view is but partial. If it is made the whole it is a levelling and unworthy view—like the Zwinglianism which makes the Supper a mere memorial, or like the historicism which reduces the Bible from a sacrament to a document. No wonder the ministry is lightly treated if it is viewed as a mere convenience, like a chairman, or the proposer of a motion. And in quarters it is so viewed. Some preaching is like proposing the health of the gospel. Some prayer is like moving a vote of thanks to the Almighty. There are those who look on the minister simply as one of the members of the Church—the talking or the presiding member. They think anything else spoils him as a brother. They believe a Church could go on without a minister, only not so well, with less decency and order.

That is all wrong. The minister is much more than a brother. He is neither the mouthpiece of the Church, nor its chairman, nor its secretary. He is not the servant of the Church. He is an apostle to it, the mouthpiece of Christ's gospel, the servant of the Word, and of the Church only for that sake. The ministry is a sacramental office; it is not a secretarial, it is not merely presidential. It is sacramental and not functional. It is the trustee of the one sacrament

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of the Word. An effective ministry is creative—nothing less; and a creative ministry is a sacramental. The Church needs men more than rites, movements, or money. But for her ministry it is sacramental men more than brilliant that she needs.

Such a ministry has a special effectiveness in connexion with the unity of the Church. For the question of Church unity is the question of the ministry, of an effective ministry, of a ministry practically valid. And what does effective or valid mean? It means sacramental. That word is my keynote. It is sacramental of the last Reality, which gives the soul any reality it has, and religion any value. That is what I go on to explain.

The more we think of the unity of the Church, I say, the more we must make of the significance of the ministry. Where does the unity of the Church lie? If we go to the very root of the matter, it lies in its theology. It lies not in its mere religion, its spirituality, its mystic ideality, its humanitarianism, its propagandism, its common sympathy, or even its common work, but in its positive and historic gospel of Redemption. If a man hate theology he must abjure Redemption. It is the one gospel that makes the one Church. The Church is where that gospel is. If the Churches are not greatly exercised about their separation, it is because they have sunk into sects which are more to themselves than to the gospel. They have a collective egoism, and their collective egoism filters down to individual. And so they are too much at home in an egoist and competitive economic. That is a perversion, a debasement, which the ministers must destroy. The evangelical ministry is a protest against it. It is the trustee specially charged with this one gospel; therefore, it is the most effective agent of the one Church. With the loosely organized Congregationalists the ministry is perhaps the greatest bond. For the one ordination of the minister to his first church is accepted by all other churches to which he may remove. He is not

ordained afresh to each, as strict theory would require. This mutual eligibility should obtain in all the Free Churches. So it is because the gospel is the creator of the Church, and the ministry is the official trustee of the gospel, that I call the place and function of the ministry creative. It is sacramental of the new creation. And it is specially creative for Church union, because it is the gospel of reconciliation.

It is not enough to say that the ministry *represents* the unity of the Church. It does that, but unless it does more it is not effective; it is only symbolic, only indicative, whereas its gospel is imperative. It *creates* that unity by carrying home with sacramental power the reconciling gospel of the One Lord. This action of the ministry sets *up* the Church's unity, and not only sets it *forth*. It does not only show a unity that is there, it creates a unity that was not there, between God and man, between members, and between churches. It is not only the symbol of the unity of the Church but its source.

The Word of the gospel created the Apostolate—the Word of the Cross and its salvation. Before that they were only disciples, students. But that made them ministers; that gave them their ordination, unction, freedom; they were neophytes no more; they forsook no more, they betrayed no more.

In the course of this work the Apostles created the Church; or rather, they were the living organs of the Word that did create it. The same gospel that made them made the Church through them. It is more true to say that they made the Church than that the Church made them. It certainly did not appoint them. And when they passed away no doubt those they trusted, those they converted first, had much prestige in the Church and, if they were otherwise fit, they became the leaders and ministers of the Church. But they were not planted on the Church by any prerogative of the Apostles. For such a belief the evidence is of the poorest.

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Again, the Word created a class of apostolic men outside those few Apostles whose prerogative was that they had been in personal contact with Christ. It created the class of prophets, enthusiastic and inspired preachers, who were treated both by apostle and Church with great respect as vehicles of the Spirit. This respect was so great that many facile religionists coveted it (not always insincerely, only temperamentally); and their spiritual make-up gave them great facilities for it. Some of them were mobile in constitution, with religious sensibility and a bias to utterance, fluent of speech, quick to exploit current notions in popular phrase; and they could polish up the *clichés* and *Stichwörter* of their public till it could see its own face in them. And the crude young Church had no Bible, or did not use it; so that it had no standard to judge these preachers. But such a test the Apostles had to provide before their death. And the epistles of John show that they did not do it by referring the new visitors to the judgement of a bishop whom they had appointed to carry on their own prerogative. They sent them to the Church of the gospel, and left the responsibility on it. They told the Church it had a right and duty to test these candidates for reverence, and to apply to their facile inspiration (especially when it was in semi-philosophic vein) the standard of revelation. This was the Authentic Word, the new creative Word, the apostle-making, Church-making Word of the gospel of forgiveness, and eternal life in the historic Jesus and His redeeming work. It was the historic Redemption of the conscience in the Cross of the only Son of God. The Church had in that 'anointing' the duty and the power to recognize or refuse the new message as a God-given charisma of evangelical truth. It was not to succumb at once to the gifted preacher, but to discern first the apostolic note. The first requisite of the minister is not the preaching gift but the gospel within it.

The Church has therefore selective power in respect

of the ministry, but not creative. It did not institute the function of preaching; the nature of the Word did that. Nor could it equip a man with the message; the Spirit did that. But it could and must discriminate between the claimants to prophetic respect and scope. It could not give divine authority but only social opportunity. The Church did not create the ministry, but only filled its ranks. It could license individuals, but not equip them. It could own the Spirit, but not command it or bestow. The case was one of recognition of the Spirit and not investiture with it. The Church did not institute the ministry as an office (for that was God's gift to the Church, along with a Word that mystically chose its own organs), but it could ordain men to it. We must certainly not say that the ministry creates the ministry. The Apostles did not appoint Apostles in any such sense as is often pressed. Their first attempt in that way was but a lottery, and it was swept aside by the Spirit's selection of Paul—in whose case the Apostles did not even recognize an Apostle when they saw one. In so far as we can speak of men creating the ministry, it is the Church that creates the ministry. But we must be careful in what sense. In the second century, it did greatly alter the form of the ministry, but that was to carry on the work of apostles who were made such neither by the Church nor each other. And the ministry, having been thus established by the existence of the first Apostles (though not entailed), was part of the trust committed to the Church, so far at least as the provision of its incumbents went. The Church provided and provides the *personnel* for an institution already created for it by God's Spirit. It did this as the need arose for filling a place that could strictly never be filled again—the place of the Apostles, whose fellowship with Christ and gifts of revelation had been quite original, unique, and historically intransmissible. The strict successor of the Apostles is the New Testament, as containing the precipitate of their preaching. It is not the ministry that is the successor of the

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Apostolate, but the ministry *plus* the true apostolic legacy, the Bible. The ministry of the Word is therefore not a projection or creation of the Church. The authority of the ministry is not drawn from the Church—else the message of the Word is no message to the Church but only its soliloquy, the Church calling to its own soul, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul'; and not receiving the call and Word of God. What comes from the Church is the recognition of an authority it cannot confer, and the provision of opportunity. The word authority is ambiguous. It may mean the ultimate equipment, improvement, commission, and *élan* by the Spirit, or it may mean the licence given by the Church, and the call to exercise the gift in its midst—especially for life. In ordination the two things must meet—the authority of the Spirit in the man, and the recognition of it by the Church. There is the creative and sacramental authority, and there is the judicial and licensing authority.

The Protestant minister is a surrogate of the Apostles. His effectiveness is therefore apostolic. It lies in what made an Apostle an Apostle—in the gospel. It is evangelical. He is a successor of such Apostles functionally if not canonically, evangelically if not statutorily. The Apostles appointed no canonical successors. They could not. They were unique. They had been trained by the earthly Christ for witness by personal contact, and dowered with a fountal power of interpreting Him. That was their prerogative. But the Apostolate in that limited sense died with the last of them. It was by its nature incommunicable. And the expectation of a near *parousia* made a scrupulous provision for successors seem unnecessary; the necessity only arose when the expectation died away, and some substitute had to be found for Apostles long gone. The Apostles sent none as they had been sent by Christ. The ministry is, therefore, not the canonical prolongation of the Apostolate any more than the Church is the prolongation of the Incarnation. The Church is the product of the Incarnation, and the



ministry is a gift to the Church. It is not the prolongation of the Apostolate but a substitute, with a like end but on their base. The prolongation of the Apostolate and the legatee of its unique authority is the New Testament, as the precipitate of the apostolic preaching at first hand. This is the minister's commission. The apostolic continuity is in the function not the entail; in the Eternal Word proclaimed, not in the unbroken chain prolonged. It is in the message, not in the order of men. A hitch in the conveyancing therefore matters nothing. The Apostles were not chosen by the Church, but when they died out a ministry arose which was, and which, under different conditions, performed the like function of preaching, spreading, and consolidating the gospel as interpreted by the Apostles once for all. Christ chose the Apostles directly, the ministers through the Church. The Church does not always choose right; but then Judas was in the twelve. The Apostolate was not perpetuated, and certainly not self-perpetuated, but it was replaced by another instrument for the same purpose at the motion of the same Spirit. It was replaced not by a prolongation but by a successor to administer its trust—by the ministry of the Word. For that Word the Apostles had authority, the ministry had function—the function of being the living sacraments of a gospel the Apostles gave. It was a functional continuity in preaching the Word revealed to the Apostles. The Apostolic succession is the Evangelical succession. Its continuity lies not in a due devolution but in a common inspiration, a common ministration of God's grace as mercy. It is not a vertical continuity but a solidary, not a chain but a spirit. This ministry took the place of the Apostolate in the second century. The Church changed and corrected the form of the ministry then, as it did at the Reformation, as it has always power to do. The Apostles had a commission from God by Christ's endowment. They descended on the Church, they did not rise from it. But the ministry had also a mandate from men, from a Church, who,

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by spiritual discernment, recognized in certain of their number Christ's gift of gospelling. It did arise from the Church—though the trust it ministered, the gospel that made it, did not. The Apostolate was not instituted by the Churches, the ministry was. But the trust was in common, and the function was alike. It was to convey (not merely to announce but to convey) the Grace of God to men. And that is the nature of ministerial effectiveness, in various forms.

I deliberately avoid speaking of the effectiveness of the ministry in the sense in which the phrase would be most promptly understood, where people are ceasing to believe in the Church, and coming to believe in congregations, agencies, movements, fabrics, and funds. The effectiveness of the ministry is to be found in its sacramental quality as I have explained it. We can never sever that great impressive idea of a Sacrament from the idea of the ministry. Without that conveying power in the end it is nothing. We hear much question raised whether our ministry is a *valid* ministry. It is absurd. God alone can really know if a ministry is valid. He alone can search the chief results. Only that gospel validates the ministry which created it. And if the work of the Free Churches for the gospel during three centuries in this country be invalid we must revise the whole New Testament idea of apostolic value and the Spirit's work. Sometimes, however, the word valid is deprecated, modified, and we are only *irregular*. Again there is but one thing that regularizes the ministry. It is the gospel and a Church of the gospel. Christianity began in an irregular ministry. It was disowned by every religious authority of the day. It began as a sect. And it burst and broke the Church in which it arose. The ministry is valid or regular according as it is effective as a sacrament of the gospel to our experience in a church. It is what makes the gospel, and Christ as the gospel, a real presence for life. The great sacrament of Christianity is

the sacrament of the living and preached Word of Reconciliation. The elements may be anything; the Word is everything. That Sacrament of the Word is what gives value to all other sacraments. They are not ends, they are but means to that Grace. They are but visible, tangible modes of conveying the same gospel which is audible in the Word. In the sacrament of the Word the ministers are themselves the elements in Christ's hands—broken and poured out in soul, even unto death; so that they may not only witness Christ, or symbolize Him, but by the sacrament of personality actually convey Him crucified and risen. A Mother Church must die daily in bringing the gospel into the World—and especially in her ministry must she die. There is indeed a real change in the true elements. It is the passage of the preacher's soul from death to life incessantly. The Apostles were greater sacraments than those they administered, as Man is more than the Sabbath, Christ than the Temple. For the true sacrament is holy personality. The body and blood of Christ is the heart and soul of Christ, the broken heart, the soul made a libation. A soul elect to the Cross of the gospel conveys Christ as bread, wine, or water cannot. In like manner we say that, in strictness, a book cannot be inspired, but only the soul that wrote it: and the Apostles were more inspired than the Bible. A Church cannot live without sacraments, which are 'essential means'; but still less can it live without sacramental souls, which are also ends in themselves. There lies the prime effectiveness of the ministry. It is its sacramental power not to change elements but to change souls, to regenerate personality. Let us rise above the idea that the preached Word of God is a mere message warmly told. It is a sacrament by the medium of a consecrated personality. It is more than good news fervently spoken, it is a soul's life and power from God. Ardour is not life. And the Word's bearer is more than a herald; he is a hierophant from the holiest place. He is, as gospelling, more than a herald God sent, he is a living oracle of God.

We use a phrase sometimes which is indispensable but

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is not without its dangers. When we allude to the channel that conveys grace to us we speak of a Means of Grace. But there is a tendency in the expression to fix attention on things as the organs of grace, or upon institutions, or ordinances. But things or even institutions play but a subordinate part in the mediation of grace as the gospel understands grace. Grace is not a force. It is not among natural causes, nor is it due to natural effects. It is a Person's will, the freest of all objects in the compass of our knowledge ; and the freedom of grace not only sits loose to things but it is something that Christians are bound to consider before any freedom of man. It aims, therefore, at the production of a certain type of free personal life in those to whom it comes. It aims at their will and its re-creation to a new freedom. It is the action of will on will, of soul on soul. In strictness, therefore, it cannot really work with things for means. Things are but under-agents. It works with wills, with persons—whatever the instruments may be that these employ as machinery of the soul, whether they be things or institutions. Grace makes its own prime instruments out of the souls that receive it. They are its great sacraments. It is by men of grace that Christ spreads and confirms His grace in men. It works by putting into the service of Christ every one it brings to Christ.

The gift of grace, therefore, is nothing distinct from grace's own function in the soul, the soul-activity, the new life it stirs. The effects of grace are personal activities to which Christ rouses us in the gospel of His Word and the gift of His Spirit—faith, repentance, hope, love, the passion for souls. These are the gift of grace, and the Spirit's great work in us. It has nothing to do with magical, subliminal, metaphysical powers residing in the substance of things or elements. Those spiritual energies in us are not the sequels to some infusion of essence and substance all divine, which is treated as God's true gift and great work in us, a higher gift than grace, refining grace itself, as is supposed

in sacramentarian doctrine. The real intimate means of grace are sacramental souls and not sacramentarian elements. Conversion, regeneration, is the true Transubstantiation. The ordinances are therefore not the action of functionaries but of believers, men of grace.

The bane of the whole question of the sacraments is the obtrusion of the material elements. This provokes a jungle of metaphysical issues that are not religious, nor even theological, but only theosophic, insoluble, too often demoralizing. But do not let us by such deflections and perversions be robbed of the sacramental idea and its vast Christian effects. The sacramental rite is an occasion of sacramental souls and not of a magical action or entail. The metaphysic behind it belongs to the metaphysic of personality and of energy and not of substance. The sacraments will never become the symbol of a united Church till the whole forest of thought, speech, and practice in connexion with a metaphysic or magic of the elements as substances has been swept away, and they are construed as acts of corporate personality of the Church, expressing the gospel's action in sacramental souls.

In urging the sacramentalism of the ministry as its true effectiveness, let me be more concrete.

The ministerial office has four functions in which it must be effective.

(1) **PREACHING.** This is prime for the genius of the office with us, whether it be prime for each minister or not. The ministry represents God. It carries the Word of His mercy to the Church and the World. Nay more, it *conveys* God in His grace. It is a living sacrament, which not only shows something, but does something in the spiritual world, confers something, changes much, regenerates all. Preaching the gospel is a great sacramental deed, whatever preaching sermons may be. It is not Apostles people are tired of, but the pulpit. It is sermons that weary them, not the gospel. Preaching the gospel is far more truly a deed, an act of the personality, than the priest's in the Mass. Yea, it effects more

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in the unseen. And in the case of the minister, as with the Apostle, it is a life-deed. The course of life is given up to it. Life and Word are identified. His Word engrosses his life, his life is consecrated to His Word. He is a sacrament of grace (would that he oftener knew it !), always meaning by grace not the substance of Christ assimilated in bread and wine, but the Word of Christ appropriated in personality, in the spirit and in power.

(2) PASTORAL WORK. This is but a special aspect of the other. It is bringing God's grace to men in another way, for which some are more fitted than they are to preach. It brings the gospel to each door. The pastor's work is not merely to go about among the people with human sympathy and kindly help, but to do this confessedly in the name and for the sake of something greater—in the way of carrying Christ to the people individually, sacramentally, not for humane objects only, but for the sake of the kingdom of God. The pastor is only the preacher in retail. The cure of souls ! No mere assiduity can really cure souls, only a gospel of grace working through a subject of grace.

(3) LITURGICAL WORK—AND ESPECIALLY LEADING IN PUBLIC PRAYER. Now, this puts us at a point of view quite different and secondary. Here the minister is no more prophet but priest. His effectiveness is not prophetic but priestly. His voice does not now come to the Church, but rises from it. He is the organ of the common priesthood of the Church. When he speaks in God's name to men, he properly speaks down to the people from a pulpit ; but, speaking in man's name to God, he speaks properly from the floor, and from among the people. If acoustics permitted it, he should have his back to the people ; because he and they are all on one level, and all face one way, and all bend to one Godward wind. He is here what as preacher he is not—the mouthpiece of the people, of their sin, confession, need, and praise, all of which he shares. Here his effectiveness rests in his call by the people rather than in God's



call. The people commission him to express them. He speaks for men, not for God. He is not here God's sacrament to men, he stands for man's sacrifice to God, man's oblation of himself in Christ. He is here the organ of the essential priestliness of the Church. As the officer of the Church he is sacerdotal, as the organ of God he is sacramental. The Church is a great priest, the ministry is a great prophet. The Church confesses for the world, intercedes, suffers, is offered for it. It is, under Christ, the world's High-Priest. But the ministry speaks even to the Church, and to the world through it. It conveys God in His Grace to living faith. It has the secret and sacrament of the regenerating Word. It prophesies, it testifies, it wrestles with men rather than for them, it is despised and rejected, and, it may be, dies at their hands and for their sake. It is over the Church in the gospel (but only in the gospel, not in thought, and not in action). As priest, the ministry offers to God the Church's soul, as prophet it offers to men the salvation of God. In the minister's one person, the human spirit speaks to God, and the Holy Spirit speaks to men. No wonder he is often rent asunder. No wonder he snaps in such tension. It broke the heart of Christ. But it let out in the act the heart of God.

But with us one of these functions of the minister is prime. His chief effect and calling with us is as the channel of the Holy Ghost. He is God's human sacrament to man. He is sacramental, therefore, more than sacerdotal. For he is chiefly what he is for God. And for God he is the vehicle of His Word. And it is only God's Word to us that makes possible our word to God. Our safety, therefore, if Protestantism be the Church's salvation, is that the ministry be also more sacramental than sacerdotal, and sacerdotal only as sacramental—because the gift of Grace creates the Church's answering sacrifice of faith and prayer.

(4) THE MINISTRY HAS OTHER FUNCTIONS. It is social and philanthropic. These belong to another group, also

sacramental in their way ; which, however, receives so much attention at present that it threatens the greater functions. And that releases me from saying much about it, except that here also the minister is the channel of God's grace, love, and help. Yet it can easily distract from the ministry of the Word and the unique witness of the Church. It can make the Church but a waiter on the State, and no Church at all, but only a religious society lacking the Holy Ghost. It is not good for the minister to be an almoner. And it takes work away from the laity. This whole side of things is passing more and more from the Christian Church to the Christian State. So that it becomes more and more difficult, with the spiritual demands of such an age, to be both minister and statesman. Or, if social interests and reforms do not pass to the State, they are, in the case of the Church's members, banded in free societies for a special purpose. These, however, should have their spiritual force and cheer in the Church. And a Church meeting could not be better spent than in hearing from the members accounts of their Christian work in the world, whether it be by societies of the Church or not, and praying for both workers and work.

But now to express the whole truth, there is another pole. The effectiveness of the ministry is not possible without that of the people. A sacrament is a sacrament to faith, to a recipient. Effectual calling implies effectual hearing. In the case of a stranger speaking that means that the Church starts with active criticism ; but criticism of the preacher, not the gospel. For Paul and John that was certainly so. The prophet, the preacher had to *win* confidence. The wandering preacher's gift of uttering the word must be met and matched by the hearer's gift of evangelical discernment. Religious judgement precedes religious sympathy. We ministers ought not to expect men to believe in us till we make them. The prophet offered himself to the spiritual criticism of the Church. And it is to the men of the spirit, men regenerate, that the prophet of the Spirit

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appeals. The world has not the test for the effectiveness of the ministry. 'The spiritual voice needs the spiritual ear.'

And this ear must be cultivated. But how cultivated, you ask me? Is it not for the ministry to cultivate the ear of the people? Yes, when it has won it. But how is the ministry to win the ear, the confidence of the people? In the New Testament age the critical right of recognizing prophets when they appeared lay with the Church. And how? By bringing them to the test neither of eloquence, nor impressiveness, nor idealism, nor mere liking, but to the test of the historic gospel, to the evangelical test, as the Apostles had put it into their hands. (What a pity it has been confounded with Orthodoxy!) That is, as we should now say, the test must be applied—not of our whims, prejudices, views, tastes, or hobbies, but of the redemption as the New Testament puts it. Paul said, if prophet, apostle, or angel preached another than that gospel, he was to be disregarded.

No matter how magnetic, how charming, how spiritual, how impressive, how powerful, how popular the speaker may be with a mere congregation, he has not his right to a pulpit in a Church in virtue of any of these things. He has his right according as he serves the New Testament Gospel. He is to be received not for his temperament, but for his message, not as he may be a poet, a saint, an oracle, or a capital fellow, but as he is a Sacrament of the Word of the Cross and its regeneration. The test of an effective ministry is not impression but regeneration. And to discern that regenerative note in him, the Christian people must tune their ear not at the minister, but at the same source as the minister—at the Bible. But then, if the personal use of the Bible die out of our laity, if they decay in their sense of that gospel which makes the Bible the Bible, how is the ear for the true apostolate to be cultivated? Has the membership of our churches the ear for the gospel, the ear which detects in much spirituality the false note and the

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false key? Or has it become vulgarized by orthodoxy or democracy? How is the gift then to be acquired which distinguishes the living Word from a mere live man, or from mere mystic religiosity on which no Church can live? Does the Church's right of choosing a minister remain if it lose this gift, this supernatural *flair* for the authentic gospel? Mistakes are often made in calling a minister, through the lack of this spiritual discernment in churches that do not feed their souls on their Bible, nor will go for guidance to those who do. They take up what costs them least effort to take in. If a man seems *spirituel*, easy, and interesting, they do not ask if he is effective where the preacher's effectiveness begins—with God, if he is accessible to God, and so, effective as an apostle. The ministry of the Word and prayer go together. The man who prays as much as he preaches will not be an ineffective preacher. And he will be very effective with those who do not preach at all but pray much. Gifts do not make a preacher; brilliancy does not; but there is a seal that does. And it is not a rapt soul, a subjective facility for religion, not even a devoted life, but the apostolic note, lived in and lived out.

Again, the Christian ministry is not effective, however active and influential, except as it makes and builds up Churches. I have said its true feature is not impressionist, but creative and regenerative. That means one or two things. It creates personality rather than creates a *furor*. It builds up the preacher's personality, and protects it from his vogue. And it rears personality *in the flock*. It is less concerned in stirring stray heroisms than in making men, less given to lead crusades than to make Churches. That is the great seal to a ministry—not enterprise, not vogue, nor even conversions, but Churches. It is not an effective ministry when the crowds the preacher drew melt whenever he goes, when they gather about a personality rather than about the Church. The idolatry of such preachers tends to reduce the general estimate of the ministry rather than to

raise it. Besides, there is a corporate personality that belongs to a Church and its history; and a Church with a history should not sink to be a mere rostrum for a reputation. The business of the effective ministry is to develop the Church, to raise it above the denominational, to turn audiences into Churches, and sects into the Church. It all comes round to what I said about the ministry and unity. Unity is a question of the ministry, both of its status and its effect. We shall not get a union of the Churches except through Church-makers, except as we produce real Churches to unite, bodies with a real Church-consciousness, not watered down to mere religious groups, benevolent societies, or fraternal clubs. We can reach the union of all the Churches only by developing the Church consciousness of each. It is strong personalities that make up real communities. It is strong Churches that make real union, Churches that so believe in themselves as to look on the things of others. The ministry is most effective which makes the most effective Church, which teaches people that the Church of Christ is the greatest society on earth. It is the society which is to save society. Its gospel is the one power to overcome Egoism, and an Egoism not overcome means anarchy. The saved soul is only saved by a gospel which saves a world. And the saved Church is the earnest of a saved Humanity; it is the New Humanity in the making. The ministry cannot solve the social problems, but the Church it makes by its gospel of life can. And it is a sterile mistake for a preacher to despise the doctrine that makes a Church, and then fill his yawning intelligence with the dogmas of sociology, the prescriptions of eugenics, or even the evolution of the Absolute Idea.

If the wrong form of sacrament could make Rome the greatest single power the world has ever seen, what would the right form not do for the Church, if it were as thoroughly realized? But if we surrender to Rome the mighty sacramental idea, and if our ministry have nothing sacramental

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in its note with which to go to the world, if our living sacraments do not exceed in real effect the sacraments of a legalist Church, then we cannot hope to cope with the influence of Catholicism on the world and its mighty use of the sacramental idea. We have ourselves to blame for much of the sacramentalism we object to, because we have not taken our true sacramentalism in earnest. Our religious type grows so flat, stale, and trivial, that we need Nietzsches to scourge it. But with our sacramental blood poured as a libation on the sacrifice of the Church's faith in the blood of Christ, there is no mountain we may not at last cast into the sea. There is a great truth underlying the false Roman view of the sacrament of orders. And the humblest minister who was as sure of his grace as the poorest priest is of *his* would be a power among the people and over them more sacred than brilliant gifts or imposing personality. I have been more moved and blessed by the word and prayer of a Scottish peasant or an East Coast fisherman of the sacramental experience than by high Mass in Cologne, *Parsifal* on the stage, or pulpit genius—and I have been deeply affected by them all. Let us be less concerned to denounce a false sacrament than to realize the true. There is nothing that can so uplift the ministry, and secure its dignity against the swarm of religious trivialities that fly upon it like a cloud of locusts to eat its life. It is enough to sober any light man, tame the rude man, and exalt the meek to know and feel that he is ordained to be a sacrament to his world, and be, through his own soul's faith, the living channel of the creative Word of Grace.

P. T. FORSYTH.



## THE NOTABLES OF NANTES

*An unpublished Episode of the French Revolution. From original MSS. in the Archives Nationales, Paris.*

NANTES was among the first of the great French towns to accept the new Republican government. This port, situated near the mouth of the Loire, was the natural gateway to the insurgent departments of Morbihan and La Vendée. The inhabitants of these regions were in close alliance with the English fleet that blockaded the coast and the émigrés residing in the Channel Islands; and in consequence became sources of great anxiety to the leaders of the Republic, which was as yet insecurely established at home and threatened from abroad. In 1793 the head quarters of the generals of the army of the West were fixed at Nantes, and various 'Representatives on Mission' were sent thither by the Convention with pro-consular powers over the commune and the surrounding districts. Before long two parties were formed in the National Assembly, which were known as the Montagnard and the Girondin; the first receiving its name from the position occupied by its members on the upper benches on the left of the Assembly Hall, and the second from the Department which furnished its most notable statesmen. On May 31 and the first three days of June, riots occurred in Paris, and the Commune insisted upon the expulsion of certain proscribed Girondins from the Convention, and these, hastening to the provinces, stirred up political feelings, not so much in favour of the royalists as in hostility to the existing government. This movement was known as 'Federalism.'

Towards the end of the month the civism of the

Nantais came to be suspected through their energetic protests against the exclusion of the Girondins. They declared that 'Paris was only a point on the map of France, and the Departments were not to be ruled by it.'<sup>1</sup> They treated the more unbending of the 'Missionary Representatives' with insults and personal violence, with the result that several detachments of soldiers were hurried into Nantes to restore order and maintain Republican principles and unity. Scattered round the town, on both banks of the Loire, were groups of 'brigands'—a generic and convenient term for all who were in revolt for their king, their priests, or their seigneurs. This internecine dispute with Republicanism as represented by its discredited leaders, naturally diminished the fervour of the Nantais against their earlier and more legitimate opponents, and the Republican generals found the opposition to the Royal and Catholic Army so half-hearted that they threatened to blow up the Arsenal and powder stores if a smarter resistance were not made. They reported to the Convention that they had discovered 14,000 meals ready prepared in Nantes for the rebels.

The National Assembly, far from the seat of the insurrection and harassed by the complete disorganization of the governmental machine which such a revolutionary upheaval could not fail to bring in its train, defeated its own purposes by its ill-considered and arbitrary measures. On the first day of October it decreed that the Vendée war was to be brought to a satisfactory conclusion before the end of the month, and even went so far as to map out the form of a civic thanksgiving feast to be celebrated on November 1. It bestowed upon the Representatives in the revolted departments 'illimitable powers,' and ordered the particular Representative at that time doing effective work at Rennes, to betake himself to Nantes.

The specific commands given him by the Convention were somewhat vague. The Representatives were not to

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<sup>1</sup> Arch. Nat. MSS., F<sup>7</sup>, 4422.

make a permanent residence in any one town, but to travel here and there in the department 'to strike huge blows in passing and to leave their following up' to the agents of the various Revolutionary Committees.<sup>1</sup>

Being in direct communication with the West Indies and the French Colonial possessions, Nantes had long been renowned for its commercial prosperity. The rich merchants and chief professional men of the town, together with the minor nobles of the district, were called 'the Notables'; they had enthusiastically welcomed the political principles of '89. The early leaders of the Revolution had been men of high ideals, intellectual culture, and moral balance, but these were soon displaced by men of rougher temper and stronger nerve. Now was the day of the Jacobin and the Sans-culotte, when poverty was triumphantly warring against wealth; and the Revolutionary or Supervisory Committee of the town, anxious to show its patriotic zeal (more than a little under suspicion), at once put into operation the recently passed 'law of suspects,' which resulted in the imprisonment of most of the Notables of the city. The chief members of the committee were its President Bachelier, the half-caste Grandmaison, Secretary of the People's Club at Nantes (who described himself as 'a wild mountaineer, without education, no constructor of phrases, and only able to speak the truth'), and citizens Goullin and Chaux, two ferocious demagogues. Here is one of their orders.

'In the name of the French people'

'Duly considering the illimitable powers with which we are invested by the Representatives of the Sovereign people, we, members of the Supervisory Committee, request citizens Nicolas, Davert and Jucurin to go immediately to the houses of suspected people, to seize there all arms, powder, stores that they may find, to gain possession of their persons

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<sup>1</sup> Arch. Nat. MSS. W. Armoire de Fer.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Nat. MSS. W. 3rd part.

if they consider it advisable, to employ for this purpose sufficient armed force, to place the arms seized at the Château and to acquaint the bodyguard in the same place with the names, &c., of the arrested individuals.

‘Nantes, 26 day of the 2nd year.<sup>1</sup>

‘Signed, A. LECOQ, Administrator,  
‘GOULLIN and CHAUX.’

The Revolutionary Committee held another meeting on October 19, which was presided over by Bishop Minée, a constitutional priest, that is, one who had taken the oath to the Republic. Representative Gillet entered and reported brigand successes. The President said that it was easy to fight the enemies without, but what about those within?

The Representative replied that the Supervisory Committee had every necessary power that was prescribed by law, and that they need not fear to exceed it in this case.<sup>2</sup>

Being thus officially justified in all they had done, the Committee waited the coming of Gillet's successor, who appeared at Nantes on October 21, but being still occupied in consultations with the generals and other deputies in the city, he accepted, for the time being, the Constituted Authorities he found there, and left the Supervisory Committee a perfectly free hand. This Committee determined to send 132 of the imprisoned Notables to Paris, alleging that the Committee of Public Safety could and should draw from them information concerning the Vendée and the brigands.

However, the sentiments of the Revolutionary Committee did not appear to be wholly patriotic, if we are to believe the words of one of the prisoners. He writes<sup>3</sup>: ‘A few days before the departure of the Nantais for Paris, Naud, at first merchant, next bankrupt, finally *benevolent* Commissioner of the Committee, went to the prison house of the Éperon-

<sup>1</sup> October 17, 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Nat. W. 3rd part.

<sup>3</sup> Relation du Voyage des Cent-trente-deux.

nière, had seven or eight of us summoned to the garden, and . . . spoke in these terms : " It is now at last the war of the beggars against those who have something. I advise you to disburse ; make sacrifices, time presses. . . . It is a question of a journey to Paris, and beside the adventure of the Ninety priests who have just been drowned is a sufficient notice to make up your mind promptly." Our comrades,' continues the writer, ' were ready to brave death rather than consent to buy their liberty or their life by cowardice, and even in fetters they showed a Republican pride.'

The order for transference was brought to the Representative for signature on November 26, and the next day the prisoners of the Éperonnière were awakened at five in the morning, and were drawn up in rows in the prison court. They were told that they were to set out for Paris almost immediately, and were forbidden to go back to their rooms for their personal effects. All were given regulation shoes, a few had taken the precaution to bring with them their bundles, the rest had their cloaks thrown down from the windows by some of their friends left within the prison. Some pathetic incidents took place at starting. One wife, unable to take a personal farewell of her husband, wrote a few words on the back of a short laundry list, and asked the officer in charge to give it to him. The request was refused on the ground that the figures on the list might be secret characters. The wife of Citizen Borgnier protested that his name was not on the list, but rather that of a certain Borgnis. But in vain. At midday the actual departure took place, most of the old men, sick and infirm persons being seated in coaches, and the march continued without interruption for rest or food until nine in the evening, when Oudon was reached. The night was very black, the roads muddy and full of holes. Soldiers and citizens alike fell pell-mell into the ditches and helped each other out. One of the prisoners took the opportunity to escape, but another, having lost his companions, refused the kind offer of a

native of Oudon to give him a sure refuge, and had himself led back to the escort. The prisoners were lodged for the night in a little church, being supplied with straw for their beds. They were given wine, black bread, and lard. The latter was so rancid that the soldiers accompanying them used it to grease their shoes. As already remarked, these Notables were wealthy men, accustomed to the luxuries of the prosperous middle-class. They were only 'suspects,' and had not as yet been even accused, much less convicted of any crime against the Republic, which made this harsh treatment peculiarly galling. They set out at seven the next morning, breakfastless, receiving insults and menaces in every town they passed through. The people had been informed that they were brigands, captured arms in hand, and to give colour to this idea, the list describing them was headed by the name of Charrette-Boisfoucault, as if this old man were a relation of 'Charrette,' the most daring and notorious of the brigand-chiefs. Each day of the march passed as the one before, but each night seemed to have its own distinguishing incident. At Oudon, one of the prisoners and a native of that place, passed the night lying on his father's tomb. At Varades another slept in a confessional, and was only awakened in the morning at the moment of departure of the convoy by the threats of the conductor, Bologniel, who walked up and down the church shouting that if he found any laggard he would slice off his head with his sabre. The frightened Nantais did not dare leave his refuge until Bologniel had gone, then he slipped quietly out, and of his own accord rejoined his companions a few kilometres further on. At Angers the prisoners were taken to the Seminary; some other prisoners, they were informed, had been turned out to make room for them. Later their fears for their safety were intensified by learning that these unfortunate creatures, crossing the town at the time of an attack upon it by the brigands, had all perished under the hands of the outraged patriots. Meanwhile our Nantais



remained in the Seminary, their sufferings a little ameliorated by permission to purchase food from the citizens. They sat down to table with relief founded on their relative well-being, and still more upon the knowledge of their perfect innocence. But suddenly a guard of 200 men entered the court accompanied by gendarmes furnished with cord, and while the former announced their immediate departure, the latter proceeded to rope them together. At this some of the Nantais, men as they were, burst into tears. They had seen and probably pitied the chain of 'scoundrels' and 'assassins' passing in procession of despair from town hall to prison, but none had foreseen the hour in which that spirit-breaking degradation would be theirs. Amid the clamours and gesticulations of a furious crowd, the captives, tied together like slaves, were taken across the town to the ex-royal prison.

It was now five in the evening and twilight, and in fear of their lives the prisoners preserved the greatest silence. They noticed along the wall opposite them an array of shirts, hats, &c., and presently a terrifying rumour went from mouth to mouth that these were the spoils of the men who that morning had been slain. At length a chapel opening on the courtyard was indicated to them as their lodging for the time being. This building was twelve and a half feet by twenty-four, and eighty-one men were crowded into it, the remainder occupying dungeons in the prison; a few bundles of straw were given them, and they were left without provisions and without light until half-past eight in the morning. At ten the next day the prisoners were sent into the small courtyard, where they found others,—brigands, thieves, and criminals of common law. The courtyard contained a well of impure water, which was their only drink, and an uncovered drain, the place being so offensive that even the most robust were affected by it, and two municipal officers, sent to report if the situation were as horrible as the Nantais declared, held their nostrils

at the entry of the court. At the roll call one Devay, junior, bachelor and infirm, was found to have taken the place of his elder brother, who was the father of seven young children, and the only support of his family.

At four in the evening all the prisoners were shut up again in the chapel or their dungeons, which were only opened at eight and ten in the morning, and this custom was followed during the nineteen days of their residence at Angers; the number in the chapel was, however, gradually reduced to forty-three. There seemed to be nothing that could alleviate their misery. All the vicissitudes of the season were equally prejudicial. The heat and the rain made the air foul, the rigorous cold at nightfall gave many of these old men rheumatism and other maladies that subsequently brought them to their death; in wet weather the walls exuded moisture, and thirty-five among them fell dangerously ill from the consequences of this frightful residence.

On the second of December they drew up a petition, demanding in the name of humanity and justice another habitation, but the next day the brigands made a sudden attack on Angers, and at once all their complaints and grievances were forgotten. Several of them had fought in many battles, and borne arms against the rebels. The first cannonade stirred their patriotic instincts, and they hastily drew up a second petition, asking for arms that they might serve in defence of the Fatherland, and giving their word as true Republicans to return to the prison immediately after the combat. The municipality did not see their way to grant this request, but, still desirous to serve their country where possible, some days later the Notables made a collection among themselves, and contributed 2,400 livres (£96) which they forwarded to the Revolutionary Committee of Angers, for the care of the wounded.

Two days previous to their departure from Angers two Officers of Health visited them. More than sixty were found to be physically unfit for the journey, but at the moment of

leaving there was only provided for them a cabriolet with three places, and a small truck, which was almost filled with their effects. The old men, the gouty, the infirm, the convalescent, were forced to lean upon the arms of their conductors, and the whole party were led through the town bound six and six with cords.

At half-past four they arrived at Saint Mathurin, and were taken at once to a church, where three legs of mutton, two Irish stews, some bread and wine were brought to them. Scarcely had they seized upon this meagre repast when the Commandant of the district made his appearance, and recognizing one of them whom he knew to be an excellent Republican, questioned them minutely as to the cause of their imprisonment and journey. He then gave them to understand that 1,500 men of the Republican Army were expected in a quarter of an hour's time, and that in the event of their meeting, the soldiers would probably shoot them as brigands. The Commandant accordingly arranged for the prisoners to leave Saint Mathurin at once. They entered Rosiers at nine, and were dispersed about the town. One thing showed them very clearly the danger in which they had stood, the municipal officer who attended to their lodging expressed his astonishment at seeing them still alive, and with sardonic humour assured them that according to the official document which had reached him, they had been shot at the Pont de Cé. In spite of these rumours their conductors had such confidence in them that they were allowed the greatest liberty, yet no one even conceived the idea of taking advantage of it.

Next day the prisoners set out for the fateful town of Saumur. At its entrance they found a detachment of soldiers containing some of their old comrades in arms, whom they soon persuaded that they were by no means brigands. As they crossed the streets they heard the head of the detachment give vent to these ominous words: 'They must pass under the General's windows, as he wishes

to see everything, and then we will take them to the place of the guillotine.'

But when they arrived under the General's windows a pleasant surprise awaited them. Defiling before a certain Commandant-of-Battalion, he recognized some of the captives as his former comrades, 'ardent Republicans from the beginning of the Revolution, implacable enemies of the brigands.' In utter astonishment he cried out, 'Where then, henceforth, look for patriots ?'

At the prison the greater number of them were put in two little rooms which they completely filled; they were told that 'brigands had been heaped up here and died one on the other; they had brought a form of typhus with them from across the Loire, and the resulting infection was such that they who entered the rooms did so at the peril of their lives.'

The Nantais remained in the prisons of Saumur for five days, tormented with thirst, the prison water having been poisoned by the contagion. A rumour reached them that forty of their number were to be secretly removed, and credulous, as indeed they had every reason to be, they at once conjectured that death by drowning or shooting was in store for them. Their joy was therefore great when the adjutant of the district, Citizen Follio, came to them on the sixth day, saying, 'Rejoice, my friends, to-morrow you set off for Paris.'

The Nantais ever remained of the opinion that they had been kept at Saumur to die of the contagion there, though possibly it was merely a halting-place while awaiting further instructions from the representative in Nantes.

The remainder of their journey to Paris was accomplished without further delays or mishaps, wagons and coaches sufficient to convey nearly every one being requisitioned. At Langeais the municipality put them in a private house, and the Mayor set the example of lending them all the mattresses he had, and even brought soup to the invalids

himself. The grateful prisoners inscribed on one of the fireplaces, 'The Nantais thank the inhabitants of Langeais.' At Beaugency they dined at table and passed the night between sheets for the first time since leaving Nantes. None of them had undressed for thirty-four days. On January 5 they arrived at Paris, heralded as rebels of the Vendée and even as the staff of the Royal and Catholic Army. On the morrow all Paris resounded with the news that ten of these brigands, come from Nantes, were about to be shot, and the people hastened to the Champs-Élysées to see them defile past. The arrival of so many prisoners in Paris created some surprise and embarrassment. Here is an extract from a letter of Herman,<sup>1</sup> the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which shows the difficulty that criminal jurisdiction had to confront in that period known as 'The Reign of Terror.'

'To the Committee of Public Safety. Nivôse 17, year 2.'

'This case, owing to the very large number of the accused, being of an extraordinary nature I have thought it my duty to bring it to your notice. . . . It is not the intricacy of the proceedings which I fear the most. With time and patience they will be brought to a conclusion. . . . What I foresee is the possibility of these 110 persons, or at least a very large number of them, being condemned to death. . . . Ought they not to have been handed over to a Committee formed on the spot, especially as they come from a district which has long been in a state of rebellion? Should so large a number of accused be judged according to ordinary judicial procedure? Should these guilty men, when they are so numerous and the inhabitants of a rebel district, or at least live very near the principal seat of the rebellion, suffer by ordinary means?'

The Representative in Nantes had before this requested the Revolutionary Committee to draw up a statement

<sup>1</sup> Complete letter is in Lenôtre's *Tribunal of the Terror*.

<sup>2</sup> January 6, 1794.

of the motives for the arrest of the Notables, the sending forward to Paris of which was, however, delayed for several weeks. Meanwhile the Representative received this letter.<sup>1</sup>

'27 Nivôse,<sup>2</sup> 1794. Year 2 of the French Republic One and Indivisible.

'The public prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal desires to know if we have received the papers against the 110 Nantais sent to Paris. We have not got them, and think they have been suppressed or removed. Ten or twelve of these individuals have died from epidemic. We think they cannot be equally guilty and some may be innocent, and humanity and justice compel us to pronounce promptly upon their fate. The malady in prison is spreading, we must try them quickly.

'The Representatives of the People in Committee.'

These two letters would seem to show that, contrary to the accepted opinion, 'humanity and justice' were not unheard of during the first half of the Reign of Terror.

In due course the indictment arrived from Nantes, and after many months of captivity, the notables at length became acquainted with the charges brought against them, charges which seemed in their minds so absurd that they at once wrote to the Committee of General Security to complain of their continued detention.

Here is an extract from their letter of May 26.<sup>3</sup>

'The Revolutionary Committee of Nantes has been forced to acknowledge that it has acted without material proofs or denunciations against us—that it has struck none of these it was essential to strike, that we have been imprisoned by the members of a revolutionary army of which each had the power to arrest any one as it seemed good to him, and that it has been finally reduced to sending a list of our names with marginal notes containing vague qualifications and epithets. . . . We have done our duty

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Nat. MSS. F<sup>7</sup>, 4422.

<sup>2</sup> January 16, 1794.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Nat. MSS. F<sup>7</sup>, 4422.



by our commune—have helped to raise the 500,000 livres which were required for the poor people after the winter of 1788. Many of us have contributed beyond our means for the purchase of grain for the poor. We have welcomed and nourished the defenders of our country. We have fought with courage in the Vendéen war. . . . Citizen Representatives, we groan to remain useless to the Fatherland. Chains are not suitable for Republican arms. Restore us to liberty ; we swear to make use of it only to maintain the security of the national representation, the revolutionary laws, the Republic One, Indivisible and Imperishable, or to die in defending it.'

Apparently, no notice was taken of this urgent and pathetic appeal. At this period Robespierre was nearing the zenith of his short-lived power, and his acolyte, Fouquier-Tinville, was dispatching the victims brought before his tribunal almost without any form of trial. The Representative who had been at Nantes returned to Paris about March 20. He and the Incorruptible were deadly enemies, but the deputy had nevertheless some influence among his fellow-members of the Convention, and he repeatedly obtained the deferring of the trial of these Notables, in the hope that the ever-changing circumstances might bring some diminution of the 'tyrant's' power. His hope was not in vain. On Thermidor 9th (July 27) the Convention threw off the spell of Robespierre's domination, and as unexpectedly to themselves as to others, plucked up courage and impeached the Dictator, who suffered death at the guillotine the following day. The Reign of Terror was over.

The famous indictment was now made public. Here are the main crimes of which the Nantais were accused, and they give us a good idea of the offences which were deemed to be heinous in those agitated times.<sup>1</sup>

The Notables were accused of being anti-montagnards, ex-monks, ex-nobles, émigrés, ex-priests, monopolists, anar-

chists, federalists, impostors, knaves, stock-jobbers, 'enragés,' fanatics. Some of them were more particularly denounced as being an ex-monk who only took the oath to the Republic at the last moment to escape a just punishment on seeing the patriots' triumph,—for daring to say that the people were no freer under the new régime than under the old,—for being an egotist and a muscadin,<sup>1</sup>—a counter-revolutionary and an agent of émigrés and worthy by these opinions to figure among these monsters,—a frenzied anti-clubist,—for being abhorred both for fanaticism and hatred of equality,—for having worn the black cockade in public,—for being an assistant hawker of a sacerdotal petition which would kindle civil war—for disapproving of the death of Capet,—for being a hawker of an incendiary memorial in favour of unsworn priests,—for haughtiness and suspicion of having given funds to the Vendée,—for being a relation of brigands and a brigand himself,—for being suspected of having favoured the distribution of false assignats,—while a certain unfortunate Villenave figures in the list as 'the Secretary of the guillotined Bailly, and therefore eminently guillotinable.' Another is denounced as 'an anti-Maratist, a madman (*forcené*), a protector of aristocrats,' and yet another as 'an enraged anti-montagnard, trumpeting federalism everywhere, and thundering against the "days" of the 31st May, 1st, 2nd and 3rd June'—the formidable impeachment closing with 'a muscadin, royalist, sworn enemy of the people's clubs, an enemy of equality, an egotist and *feuillant*!'<sup>2</sup>

Grandmaison and Bachelier, among others, signed this choice document, but the Nantais were not put upon their trial until the 21st Fructidor (September 7, 1794), by which time the heroes of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes had themselves been brought to Paris, under arrest, to answer the more tangible charges of peculation, extortion, arbitrary

<sup>1</sup> A member of a club of young dandies or fops.

<sup>2</sup> A member of the now discredited *Feuillant* Club.

arrests and imprisonments, and the famous 'noyades.' Grandmaison and Bologniel, being imprisoned in the 'House of Arrest' of the former College of Plessis, met some of their victims there, and a few days later sent a piteous wail to the Committee of General Security to have them removed elsewhere, as the Nantais had received them with insults and bestowed upon them frequent and severe beatings!

Among the witnesses brought up to confront the ninety-four was the Representative who had been at Nantes at the time of their departure. He stated that their arrest had taken place before his proconsular residence in that town, and that whereas he knew some five of them to be pronounced federalists, the residue were either unknown to him, or known to him personally or by hearsay as good citizens and ardent Republicans.

At the end of seven days' debate the whole of the ninety-four were unanimously acquitted. According to a newspaper of the time the trial, which was one of the first after the stormy period of the Terror, was characterized by a tranquillity and a decency of behaviour which formed a striking contrast to the sanguinary precipitation of Robespierre's tribunal, and the atrocious ironies with which Dumas was wont to overwhelm the accused when reading to them their sentence of death.

The main features of the 'affaire' now disclosed to the people of Paris brought about a swift reversal of feeling. The illegal arrest of the Nantais Notables, their undeserved sufferings during their memorable journey, their uncomplaining fortitude during both, and their now manifest Republican integrity won for them the sympathy of all classes, and when the sentence of acquittal was read by the President of the Court it was followed by a scene of enthusiasm, of accolading, and fraternal embraces, altogether indescribable—and altogether French.

ELSÉ CARRIER.

## LORD MORLEY AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

**W**HAT does Lord Morley think about Christianity? That, it may be said, is a question which concerns no one except Lord Morley. And in a sense this is true. Certainly I do not approach the subject from the point of view of one who seeks to underpin a tottering faith with the reluctant admissions of its assailants. There was a time when good men thought that a man could somehow be made more sure of Christ and of His supremacy in the spiritual realm by putting into his hands a kind of certificate of character signed by John Stuart Mill and half a dozen others of the great and wise. One would hope that Christian apologists have got past that littleness now. Nevertheless, when we are thinking of one who stands in the front rank both of English statesmen and English men of letters, who has behind him a life which has been one long triumph of sincerity and high principle, who owes little to the popularity of his opinions, and much to the sheer force of his character—it is now many years since Lord Morley was known among the miners of Northumberland as ‘honest John’—then it does become a question of more than ordinary interest how such a man conceives his obligations and defines his relations to the faith which is so potent a factor in the life of the community in which he himself is so far-shining a figure.

### I

‘No writer of our day,’ said a distinguished English preacher, writing in 1886, ‘is more intensely bitter or more glaringly unjust in his treatment of the Christian faith than Mr. John Morley.’<sup>1</sup> And twenty-five or thirty years

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Watkinson’s Fernley Lecture, *The Influence of Scepticism on Character*, p. 40.

ago, perhaps, the majority of the writer's English fellow Christians would have endorsed the verdict. Men who knew nothing else about Morley, and who had never read so much as a dozen pages of his writings, knew that he once spelled the name God with a little 'g' and judged accordingly. Moreover, there was enough in what Lord Morley had then written to lend some justification to Dr. Watkinson's severe judgement. It may be well to recall some of his more explicit and outspoken declarations. But first let me enumerate the works from some of which my quotations are taken. To begin with, there are the five volumes which treat of the famous French thinkers who laid the train for the great Revolution—Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot. Then come four volumes—or, if we include with them, as we well may, the *Studies in Literature*, five volumes—of critical *Miscellanies*, *Compromise*, *Burke* (in the 'English Men of Letters' series), *Walpole* (one of 'Twelve English Statesmen'), *Oliver Cromwell*, and, finally, the more elaborate *Lives of Cobden and Gladstone*.

Now for the quotations by which, a quarter of a century ago, popular opinion in the matter of Morley's religious attitude was wont to justify itself. He speaks of himself as one of those who have made up their minds to face the worst and to shape as best they can 'a life in which the cardinal verities of the common creed shall have no place.'<sup>1</sup> 'The old gods' of faith which 'before the era of their petrification' were 'full of vitality and light,' are now, he says, 'frigid and unlovely blocks.'<sup>2</sup> 'If,' said Rousseau, when Madame de Warens died, 'if I thought that I should not see her in the other life my poor imagination would shrink from the idea of a perfect bliss which I would fain promise myself in it.' And now here is Morley's comment: 'To pluck so gracious a flower of hope on the edge of the sombre, unechoing gulf of nothingness into which our friend

<sup>1</sup> *Compromise*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. I, p. 206.

has slid silently down, is a natural impulse of the sensitive soul, numbing remorse and giving a moment's relief to the hunger and thirst of a tenderness that has been robbed of its object. Yet would not men be more likely to have a deeper love for those about them, and a keener dread of filling a house with aching hearts, if they courageously realized from the beginning of their days that we have none of this perfect companionable bliss to promise ourselves in other worlds, that the black and horrible grave is indeed the end of our communion, and that we know one another no more? <sup>1</sup> The deism of Rousseau Morley regarded as a 'religious reaction' corresponding to that which took place in England under Wesley and the Evangelical Revival. But he comforts his readers with the reflection that if it was a far less powerful it was also a far less retrogressive movement, and that 'it kept fewer of those dogmas which gradual change of intellectual climate has reduced to the condition of rank superstitions.' <sup>2</sup> He speaks with emphasis of what he thinks the peril 'of having morality made an appendage of a set of theological mysteries, because the mysteries are sure in time to be dragged into the open air of reason,' and then 'moral truth crumbles away with the false dogmas with which it had got mixed'; <sup>3</sup> and he does not hesitate to declare that the 'more or less rapidly accelerated destruction' of 'theological ways of regarding life and prescribing right conduct is the first condition of the further elevation of humanity as well in power of understanding as in morals and spirituality.' <sup>4</sup> 'Those who agree with the present writer,' he says again—and this is perhaps the most emphatic and decisive passage that can be quoted—'are not sceptics. They positively, absolutely,

<sup>1</sup> *Rousseau*, Vol. I, p. 219. Of Chaumette Morley writes, 'He showed the natural effect of abandoning belief in another life by his energetic interest in arrangements for improving the lot of man in this life' (*Miscellanies*, Vol. I, p. 78).

<sup>2</sup> *Rousseau*, Vol. II, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> *Voltaire*, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. II, p. 259.



and without reserve, reject as false the whole system of objective propositions which make up the popular belief of the day, in one and all of its theological expressions.<sup>1</sup> He does, indeed, admit that 'the religious sentiment has conferred enormous benefits on civilization,' and looks forward to the time when religion will be again, what it has been in the past, the 'supreme, penetrating, controlling, decisive part of a man's life.'<sup>2</sup> But the religion of the future, though it will be indebted to Christianity, will not be Christianity. Christianity is 'the last great religious synthesis, the one nearest to us'; but we are still awaiting 'the advent of the St. Paul of the humanitarian faith of the future,' who will incorporate Christianity 'in some wider gospel of Justice and Progress'—'some replacing faith which shall retain all the elements of moral beauty that once gave light to the old belief that has disappeared, and must still possess a living force in the new.'<sup>3</sup> And if we ask, faith in what? faith in whom? the answer is that the faith of the future will concern itself 'less with unseen divinities than with the long brotherhood of humanity seen and unseen.'<sup>4</sup>

## II

Words like these might well seem to be final; if there were no more to be said they would be final, and Dr. Watkinson's judgement might pass without challenge. But this is not all. There are other facts which call, I will not say for its reversal, but at least for its revision.

In passing it may not be out of place to recall that Lord Morley's mother was a Methodist, and that he can remember—so it is said—being taken by her as a child to a Methodist chapel to hear Robert Newton preach. By an interesting coincidence he occupied in Lincoln College, Oxford, the rooms that had once been John Wesley's. At one time,

<sup>1</sup> *Compromise*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 76, 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 153, 156; *Rousseau*, Vol. II, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> *Rousseau*, Vol. II, p. 277.

it appears, he was intending to take orders in the Anglican Church, and, most surprising of all, one of the first bits of literary work on which he was engaged was the *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, afterwards taken over and completed by Dean Hook.<sup>1</sup> But let us look again at the writings to which attention has already been drawn, and we shall see at once how inadequately the foregoing quotations represent the whole mind of their author.

In the first place, we are always conscious in Morley's references to religion of his sense of the seriousness and magnitude of the issues at stake. He is no light-minded trifler, 'sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer.' There is a certain high seriousness, a certain sombre nobleness, even in his denials. The elegant dabbler in infidelity, for whom the great controversy is not a grim battle but only a glittering tournament; the agnostic who has 'his day with the fine ladies like the black foot-boy of other times or the spirit-rapper and table-turner of our own'<sup>2</sup>—all this moves him to a wholesome scorn. Moreover, Morley never allows himself, like Voltaire, to be blinded to the historical greatness of the Christian faith, and the part which it has played in human affairs. 'The two things best worth attending to in history,' he says, are 'not party intrigues nor battles nor dynastic affairs, nor even many acts of parliament, but the great movement of the economic forces of a society on the one hand and on the other the forms of religious opinion and ecclesiastical organization.'<sup>3</sup> And so he can recognize the worth of things as far apart as the monotheism of the Old Testament and the evangelicism of John Wesley. In the one he sees 'the germ of much that is purest and loftiest and most inspiring among the ideals of western civilization';<sup>4</sup> in the other he recognizes the base of many of the powerful characters of the

<sup>1</sup> See *The Bookman*, Vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in Literature*, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> Voltaire, p. 320.

nineteenth century, from John Henry Newman downwards.<sup>1</sup> He admits, too, that Christianity was the only force by which the regeneration of Europe could have been effected after the decline of the Roman civilization.<sup>2</sup> More than once he stands forward as the champion of the Church of the Middle Ages, against which so much ignorant abuse has been directed. 'Amid many imperfections and some crimes,' he declares, 'it did a work that no glory of physical science can equal, and no instrument of physical science can compass, in purifying men's appetites, in setting discipline and direction on their lives, and in offering to humanity new types of moral obligation and fairer ideals of saintly perfection, whose light still shines like a star to guide our own poor voyages.'<sup>3</sup> 'We get very wearied,' he says—and the sentence is a deserved rebuke alike to the Voltairean iconoclast and the Protestant bigot who can see in the long centuries between Augustine and Luther nothing but quackery and vileness—'we get very wearied of the persistent identification of the church throughout the dark ages with fraud and imposture and sinister self-seeking, when we have once learnt, what is undoubtedly the most important principle in the study of those times, that it was the churchmen who kept the flickering light of civilization alive amid the raging storms of uncontrolled passion and violence.'<sup>4</sup>

Further, it is evident that, whether consciously or not, Morley has been profoundly influenced by the teaching and ethical ideals of Christianity. The influence reveals itself in various ways. It is seen in his striking familiarity with the English Bible, which he once spoke of as 'a noble

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Vol. III, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Voltaire*, p. 323. Similarly, Morley records in Turgot's praise that 'he never forgot that it is as wise and just to confess the obligations of mankind to the Catholic monotheism of the West as it is shallow and unjust in professors of Christianity to despise or hate the lower theological systems which guide the humbler families of mankind' (*Miscellanies*, Vol. II, p. 95).

and most majestic monument of literature';<sup>1</sup> in some of his writings Scripture phrases shine and sparkle on almost every page. It is seen in the intensity of his social and humanitarian sympathies. 'There never was a time,' he has said, 'there never was an age when, from the highest to the lowest, there was more common human-heartedness, more earnest desire to alleviate the lot of those who have to perform the hard services of the world and face its gusty insecurities; and never a time when people were more willing to make personal sacrifices. I know people who hate their own luxury; and if anybody, any statesman would tell them how, by stripping themselves of this or that luxury, they would lighten the lot of those whose lot is hard, they would do it.' It is the man himself that speaks in words like these. Through all his long life Morley has never forgotten 'the masses of men, those who dwell in dens and whose lives are bitter.' 'I count that day basely spent,' he cried once, 'in which no thought is given to the life of the garret and the hovel.' It was this that drew him so strongly to Voltaire: not the great Frenchman's 'reckless speculative intelligence,' but rather his 'righteous social protest against a system socially pestilent';<sup>2</sup> just as it was the lack of this that led him to rebuke even his great master Edmund Burke. Why, he asks, why could not Burke see that that for which men cried in the days of the French Revolution was no idle abstraction, no metaphysical right of man, 'but only the practical right of being permitted by their own toil to save themselves and the little ones about their knees from hunger and cruel death?'<sup>3</sup> And, let me add, it is the depth and tenderness of his social sympathies, so quick to feel the pain 'in widest commonalty spread,' that has given edge and passion to Morley's honourable and lifelong protest against the wickedness and insanity of war.

<sup>1</sup> *Compromise*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Voltaire*, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Burke* ('English Men of Letters' series), p. 161.

But it is perhaps in his insistence on the supremacy of the ethical and spiritual that we see most clearly the commanding influence of Morley's Christian environment. One or two of his recorded judgements will best illustrate what is meant. Thus he makes it a ground of complaint against Emerson that he has so little to say of 'that horrid burden and impediment on the soul which the churches call Sin, and which, by whatever name we call it, is a very real catastrophe in the moral nature of man.'<sup>1</sup> Those moods of holiness, awe, reverence, and silent worship of an Unseen not made with hands, which the Christianizing Jews first brought from the East are, he says, 'among the richest acquisitions of human nature.'<sup>2</sup> When Dr. Draper lays it down as a fundamental axiom of history that human progress depends upon increase of our knowledge of the conditions of material phenomena, this is Morley's comment: 'As if moral advance, the progressive elevation of types of character and ethical ideals were not at least an equally important cause of improvement in civilization. *The type of Saint Vincent de Paul is plainly as indispensable to progress as the type of Newton.*'<sup>3</sup> And in his Romanes Lecture on Machiavelli he starts the 'ingenious and idle speculation'—it is easy to see what his own answer would be—'whether, if the influence of Florence on European culture had never existed, the loss to mankind would have been as deep as if the little republic of Geneva had been wiped out by the Dukes of Savoy.'<sup>4</sup>

The same bent of soul is revealed in Morley's choice of his spiritual masters. Ignorant and prejudiced people speak sometimes as if his thinking had been fashioned solely on certain French models of a type peculiarly distasteful to English minds. A mere glance at his collected works should be sufficient to dispel this delusion, even if we had not his own distinct and emphatic disclaimer. 'Men,'

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. I, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> *Rousseau*, Vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, p. 15. (Italics mine.)

<sup>4</sup> p. 48.

he says, 'who sympathize with him [Voltaire] in his aims, and even for their sake forgive him his method, who have long ago struck the tents under which they once found shelter in the lands of belief, to whom Catholicism has become as extinct a thing as Mahometanism, even they will turn with better chance of edification to the great masters and teachers of the old faith, than to the fiery precursor of the new.'<sup>1</sup> Every one knows his profound admiration for the writings of John Henry Newman and Dean Church. It may be of interest, too, to mention that during one of Gladstone's political campaigns in Midlothian he told his host one morning at breakfast that he had just received from John Morley a little volume sent to him because of the delight and profit it had yielded to Morley himself. It was John Woolman's *Journal*. Those who have turned over the quiet pages of the pious Quaker will not need to be told that one who could find strength and refreshment there has little in common with the hardy blasphemer whom, twenty-five years ago, men thought they saw in the biographer of Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau.

It has been alleged<sup>2</sup> that there is one grave exception to all this, that in one matter at least Morley falls far short of the Christian ideal—the crucial problem of the relation of the sexes. There is no need to repeat the incriminating passages, but it may be said at once that Morley's warmest admirers must have wished that his language had been less apologetic in his discussion, for example, of the life of George Eliot, and especially in his references to the nauseous amours of some of the revolutionary French thinkers. On the other hand, it would be grossly unjust to associate Morley with those who, with a light heart, are ready to set at nought the Christian law of purity. He knows what

<sup>1</sup> *Voltaire*, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, an article in the *British Weekly*, May 14, 1891, entitled 'The parable of Mr. Morley and his Gig,' and Dr. W. T. Davison's *Christian Interpretation of Life*, p. 258.



has been won, and how hardly, and that to surrender it would be to slip back again into the morass of moral beastliness. In his essay on Robespierre he speaks of 'that indiscretion of the young appetite about which the world is mute, but whose better ordering and governance would give a diviner brightness to the earth.'<sup>1</sup> 'Looseness of opinion as to the family and the conditions of its well-being and stability was,' he frankly says, 'a flaw that ran through the whole period of revolutionary thought'—'perhaps the worst blemish upon the feeling and intelligence of the revolutionary schools.'<sup>2</sup> 'Is not,' he asks, 'every incentive and every concession to vagrant appetite a force that enwraps a man in gratification of self, and severs him from duty to others, and so a force of dissolution and dispersion? It might be necessary to pull down the church, but the worst church that has ever prostituted the name and the idea of religion cannot be so disastrous to society, as a gospel that systematically relaxes self-control as being an unmeaning curtailment of happiness.'<sup>3</sup> This is not the air of the swamp but of the heights—of the heights, be it said, on which, so far as the world may judge, Morley's whole life has been passed.

### III

In addition to the facts thus gathered from Morley's own writings there are two further considerations which must not be lost sight of in any attempt to determine his attitude towards the Christian faith.

In the first place, there can be little doubt, I think, that his long absorption in the writings of the French revolutionary thinkers of the eighteenth century led him, more than he himself realized, to identify Christianity with the monstrous caricature which was presented by the French Catholicism of the period. Again and again, in reading his pages, we watched the polished shafts of scorn fall

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies*, Vol. I, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Vol. II, pp. 71, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Voltaire*, p. 151.

harmless to the ground, except as against a form of Christianity with which most modern Protestants can have as little sympathy as Morley himself.

Further, it is necessary to keep in mind the period in the history of English thought to which Morley's writings belong. He entered Oxford as a student in 1856, when the star of Newman had set and the star of Mill had risen, and when the reaction from Tractarianism was running like a mill-race. His *Voltaire* was published in 1872, and all the books in which his opposition to Christianity finds its most vehement expression belong to the same decade. Now that period, or, let us say, the third quarter of the nineteenth century, has been spoken of as 'perhaps the most critical in a religious point of view in the whole history of civilized man.'<sup>1</sup> 'At the close of the 'sixties,' says Canon Scott Holland, 'it seemed to us at Oxford almost incredible that a young don of any intellectual reputation for modernity should be on the Christian side.'<sup>2</sup> Mr. R. H. Hutton wrote in the *Spectator*, in 1874, of what he called 'The Approach of Dogmatic Atheism,'<sup>3</sup> while Dean Church, of all men the least likely to fall a victim to mental panic, declared from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, 'There are reasons for looking forward to the future with solemn awe. Signs are about us which mean something which we dare scarcely breathe. Anchors are lifting everywhere, and men are committing themselves to what they may meet with on the sea.'<sup>4</sup> It was during this period that F. W. H. Myers surrendered the faith which had inspired his noble poem, *St. Paul*,<sup>5</sup> and that John Richard Green gave up both his

<sup>1</sup> *The Position and Prospects of Theology* (Prof. W. P. Paterson's inaugural lecture at Edinburgh University, 1903), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D.*, Vol. I, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Contemporary Thoughts and Thinkers*, Vol. I, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> From a sermon preached March 29, 1868: *Gifts of Civilization*, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> In the dedication to J. E. B. [Mrs. Josephine Butler] of the early editions the following words were added in Greek: 'To whom I owe my own soul.' When I ventured once to ask Mr. Myers about this inscription, he replied that he preferred to let it sleep.

East End curacy and his early creed. 'All the younger men of science,' Huxley told Kingsley, 'whom I know intimately are *essentially* of my way of thinking. I know not a scoffer or an irreligious or an immoral man among them, but they all regard orthodoxy as you do Brahmanism.'<sup>1</sup> In one single year—1874—Professor Tyndall delivered his famous Belfast address, the author of *Supernatural Religion* published his book, which at the time Morley thought had dealt a deathblow at the historical credibility of the gospels, and Professor Clifford flung out his audacious forecast that in a very little time evidence 'of the same kind and of the same cogency' as that which forbids us to assume the existence between the earth and Venus of a planet as large as either, would forbid our faith in a Divine Creator. 'Never before, perhaps,' as Professor Paterson says, 'was there the same danger of a wholesale apostasy of the men of mind and culture, not merely from Christianity, but from the religious view of the world.' Is it, then, to be wondered at that the writings of a young Oxford scholar,<sup>2</sup> dealing with subjects such as those that Morley had chosen, should reveal the marks of the same perfervid zeal against Christianity as characterized so many of his intellectual contemporaries? What would surprise us is that books written under such conditions should embody their author's final judgement on the deep matters with which they are concerned. Do they? I think not.

## IV

The available facts, it must be admitted, are few and indecisive, but so far as they go they indicate a perceptible relenting on Morley's part. I do not mean, of course, that he has made, or is in the least degree likely to make, anything approaching a formal recantation. But there has been a

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of T. H. Huxley*, Vol. I, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Morley's *Voltaire*, *Diderot*, *Rousseau*, and *Compromise* were all written before he was forty.

change of temper; the old harshness is gone; the whole attitude is more generous and worthy. Morley once told an interviewer that the two men to whom he owed most were John Stuart Mill and Gladstone, and it is probably to the influence of the latter that we may trace in no small degree the gradual softening of Morley's tone. No man surely could know Gladstone as Morley knew him without learning a new respect for the faith which fashioned and inspired his whole life.

Various stories have appeared from time to time in the newspapers about Morley joining in the family worship of Christian homes in which he was being entertained as a guest—with the Aberdeens in Dublin, with his former constituents in Newcastle.<sup>1</sup> For the truth of some of these I can vouch on pretty high authority, and their significance for our present purpose lies in this: that when his book on *Compromise* was written (1877) this was just the kind of insincere conformity on the part of an unbeliever that he sternly refused to sanction. For men, he said, who deliberately reject the entire Christian system to join in religious worship, whether in the home or the church, lest their refusal should cause discomfort to others, is to make a mock 'both of their own reason and their own probity, merely to please persons whose delusions they pity and despise from the bottom of their hearts.'<sup>2</sup> Then has Morley put away his pity and his scorn? And are the 'delusions' to him delusions no longer? We may draw our own conclusions.

Yet, after all, it may be said, this is but the tittle-tattle of the Press; what Morley has written he has written, and by it, until it be withdrawn, he stands to be judged. This is so; but, as I pointed out some years ago,<sup>3</sup> Morley's later writings themselves bear witness to a more chastened

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, an article by the late Rev. Dr. Berry in *The Young Man*, January, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> In *A Young Man's Bookshelf*, p. 266.

mood. The evidence, I repeat, is but scanty—in Morley's case, of late years, the politician has levied a heavy toll on the man of letters—but it is sufficient for our purpose. Who, for example, can pass from the early studies in Voltaire and the rest to the later works on Cromwell and Gladstone, without noting the altered tone of which I have spoken? It is not simply that things are said in the earlier books which find no echo in the later; the climate has changed. If, however, specific quotation be desired I may point to two articles contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* in 1888 and 1892.<sup>1</sup> In the former of these, entitled, 'A few Words on French Models,' there occurs the following: 'In essays like mine' [those, that is, dealing with the literary precursors of the French Revolution] Morley writes, 'it may well have been that the better side of the thinkers concerned was sometimes unduly dwelt upon and their worst side unduly left in the background. It may well have been that an impression of personal adhesion was conveyed which only very partially existed, or even where it did not exist at all. . . . There may have been a too eager tone. . . . There were some needlessly aggressive passages and some sallies which ought to have been avoided because they gave pain to good people. There was, perhaps, too much of the particular excitement of the time.' The second article is entitled, 'A New Calendar of Great Men,' and is based on a volume edited by Mr. Frederic Harrison containing brief biographies of all the worthies in the Positivist Calendar of Auguste Comte. Morley has naturally something to say concerning the general scheme of the Calendar. Why, he asks, are these taken and those left? Why, in particular, are John Calvin and John Wesley omitted? 'The evangelical movement, in which Wesley is the greatest name, unquestionably effected a great moral revolution in England. . . . Both the onslaught upon the slave trade, and the

<sup>1</sup> Now reprinted, the former in *Studies in Literature*, the other in the fourth volume of *Miscellanies*.

other remarkable philanthropic efforts towards the last quarter of the last century, arose in, and owed their importance to, the great evangelical movement of which this Calendar fatally omits to take any account.' And so, too, in regard to Calvin. To omit him from the forces of Western evolution 'is to read history with one eye shut.' Hobbes and Cromwell are included; but Hobbes and Cromwell, giants as they were in their several ways, 'compared with Calvin, not in capacity of intellect, but in power of giving a formal shape to a world, were hardly more than names writ in water.' Calvinism it was, Morley agrees with Mark Pattison, that in the sixteenth century saved Europe.<sup>1</sup> The article closes with a reference to Thomas à Kempis and a definition of holiness. 'Is not the sphere of these famous meditations the spiritual rather than the moral life, and their aim the attainment of holiness rather than mere moral excellence? . . . By holiness do we not mean something different from virtue? It is not the same as duty; still less is it the same as religious belief. It is a name for an inner grace of nature, an instinct of the soul, by which, though knowing of earthly appetites and worldly passions, the spirit, purifying itself of these, and independent of reason, argument, and the struggles of the will, dwells in living, patient, and confident communion with the seen and the unseen Good.' Then, when many of his readers must surely have wished that he would go on, the writer suddenly breaks off, saying that he is being drawn into matters too high for him, and the essay somewhat abruptly closes. Whether this is exactly the 'language of Canaan,' I will not undertake to say; quite certainly it is not that of the uncircumcised Philistine, eager to give our carcases to the fowls of the air and the wild beasts of the earth.

Into the far-reaching questions which the study of the

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<sup>1</sup> In the lecture on Machiavelli referred to above, Morley declares that Calvin presents 'a union of fervid religious instinct and profound political genius almost unexampled in European history' (p. 47).



life and work of a man like Lord Morley raises for the Christian mind, I cannot now enter; but I will venture as I close to add of him what John Wesley wrote in his *Journal*, after reading the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius: 'I make no doubt but this is one of those "many," who "shall come from the east and the west and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," while "the children of the kingdom," nominal Christians, are "shut out."' <sup>1</sup>

GEORGE JACKSON.

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, October 11, 1745.

## MILTON AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND

*Milton's Prose Works.* Bohn's Libraries ; and Scott Library. (Selections.)

*Life of Milton.* By David Masson. 1890.

*Milton : His Religious and Political Opinions.* By Joseph Ivimey. (London. 1833.)

*Milton and Religious Freedom.* By W. G. Tarrant. (London. 1903.)

*Milton as a Political Thinker and Statesman.* By W. Willis. (London. 1909.)

Biographies by Mark Pattison, Stopford Brooke, and Dr. Garnett ; also by Paxton Hood, J. A. Hamilton, and others.

' **T**HE words of Milton are true in all times, and were never truer than in this.'<sup>1</sup> A sentence which admits of a wider application than Carlyle intended when he wrote it. It will be our aim to show what has been the influence of Milton on political thought and religious controversy, and further to point out that the substance of his teaching cannot be affected by the mood and temper of the day, but has in it elements of permanence which are vital to the wellbeing of the English people.

So many influences enter into the character of a nation, there are so many tributaries which lose themselves in the main stream of a people's life, that it is difficult to separate any particular tendency, and say that this can be traced back to some man or movement of an earlier day. Still, in any attempt at analysis, we should be careful not to refuse off-hand to a teacher of power and light the credit which presumably may be his due. After all, viewed from the political and social standpoint, a nation's lifetime has its 'dispensations,' each of which has its special attributes and

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<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, p. 51.

functions. If there be such a thing as historical evolution it may be said that each age marks the beginning of some new departure, or is the illumination or rediscovery of that which, if not quite new, has been lost sight of. It is well—if possible—to find, as nearly as may be, the point where each new movement begins, and, therefore, to credit the epochal moment with that which grows like it, and is valuable and abiding in the direction which the progress of a nation takes.

More than any other man in English history, Milton was the apostle of liberty—liberty of thought, liberty of discussion. On this subject his works are text-books for all time. Comparing the present with the past, and allowing for other great forces working in the same direction, we may claim that he had much to do with the making of modern England.

It must be admitted that the ethnological conditions were favourable for the teachings of Milton. In his *Eikonoklastes* he speaks of 'the old English fortitude and love of freedom.' England is Freedom's native soil. There are races which do not seem ripe for free institutions. 'The iron has entered into their soul.' In thought and spirit they are slaves, and—to be safe—the work of emancipation must be gradual. In matters religious and political it has always been otherwise with the robust and liberty-loving Anglo-Saxons. In the Englishman there is a natural affinity for freer forms of faith than are acclimatized among the Latin nations. Even the religions of 'authority' have to accommodate themselves to the democratic spirit inherited from his ancestors. With this racial trait his composite origin has not interfered. Worshipper of Odin and Thor, his native virility was unweakened by vices such as we associate with the mythologies of Greece and Rome. Valhalla, with its robust delights, was the last home of heroes. Whether they came from the banks of the Elbe or the Rhine, the fjords of Norway or the dunes of Daneland, his

forefathers drank in the breath of freedom from the storms and blasts of Scandinavian seas. Even the Norman element—though predominant for a time—became finally absorbed in the moral fabric of the nation's life, and the original type prevailed. We are all English to-day.

And never, perhaps, was a mission entrusted to a people with such a capacity for propaganda. The Teutonic branch of the Aryan family has been a providence to the world. Milton's prophecy has come true. The Englishman has succeeded the Jew. 'Why else was this nation chosen before any other? What does He then reveal Himself to His servants, and, as His manner is, first to His Englishmen!'<sup>1</sup> His boundless empire: his language spoken by increasing millions on three continents, are the means by which such tenets are transmitted and perpetuated. Nor when the two civilizations are compared is it likely that the Slav—in spite of his extraordinary fecundity and evergrowing dominions—can displace the ruling race.

And as with the racial denomination so with the previous history of the English people. Seldom does a great political cataclysm burst on the consciousness of a nation, like the fully armed Pallas from the brain of Zeus. In nature mysterious notices, intimations, subterranean reverberations, volcanic eruptions are ominous of impending catastrophe. So in national movements there are always forerunners who announce the coming of some greater one who is to follow. English history has been the history of liberty. Before Milton's day the tyrannies of popes and kings had not been allowed to go on without challenge and resistance. The body of the strong man was bound, but not his soul. The Viking spirit was not dead. Again and again, in insurrection and revolt, his right to the old liberties was asserted. And what was even more unconquerable was his sense of Christian freedom. It never was killed out of him. Runnimead and the Magna Charta, the names of Wyclif and the Reformers,

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<sup>1</sup> *Areopagitica*. Bohn, Vol. II, p. 90 et seq.

the emigration of the Pilgrim Fathers, and now the wars of King and Parliament—all stood for the principle of eternal protest. Once uttered, such words as came from these upholders of a nation's independence have in them something more than a gramophonic gift of speech. They are the most living things on record. Once out, truth never really returns to the prison and the night.

So there comes the Hour and the Man. The Hour was the hour of the Stuart tyranny and the corruption of the court. To the rising spirit of the land what greater provocation could have been given? For the doing away of the Old and the inbringing of the New, what better justification? All that was needed was the occasion.

The supporters of that which had to be done away with provided the occasion. The hands that manacled the mind of England were the hands that erected the stage on which the drama of the Revolution had to be played. The party of king and court, of church and cavalier, themselves chose the field of action—and, what was still more decisive to their hopes, as in the dark day of Culloden long years after—they selected the very position they occupied in the momentous battle for victory. On the other hand, the 'rebels' had not only a great cause, but leaders worthy of the cause.

Taking it in the widest sense the story of English liberty is one of the grandest ever told by man, and is, perhaps, our most precious earthly inheritance. In this story two names stand foremost—the names of Cromwell and Milton—the Garibaldi and Mazzini of our own revolution. They were the men of the hour—the hour of England's providential opportunity. Whatever be our creed and politics, surely these are names which should make us proud that we are of the same land and blood. Like the two Italian patriots these great twin brethren—the Prophet and the Man of Action—had each of them his work to do. But like elements that coalesce and support each other in the ministries of

nature, they form a unity of force and result in the marvellous story.

Of the two Milton attracts us most. Nature had cast him in a fair and winsome mould. In him dwelt the spirit of the ages. Learning and science were his, and that which gives wings to learning—imagination, the creator of new worlds. All high affinities, speculations, noble converse, choice friendships were his. First in the 'Laureate Fraternity of Poets, dweller in the shady spaces of philosophy, sojourner in deep retreats, the joyful companion of Apollo,' great singer of 'Magnific Hymns and Odes,' he appealed to the many sides of the English character. Of his high genius there is no one who cannot feel the charm. Cromwell had none of this. His strength lay elsewhere, but, whether his statue be placed inside or outside the precincts of Parliament, the great soldier-statesman will never lack friends and defenders.

Milton was 'the literary chief of lay independency.' 'He was the genius of Puritan England—always a Puritan.' Yet, in virtue of those rich elements of character which were in him, greater than the Puritan. To his personal beauty, his genius and accomplishments, reference has been made. But in him there were deeper sources of strength, even than these. His lofty character, his high spirit and courage, his clear purpose in life, never excelled by mortal man, his holy scorn of all things base, his anchorage in God—these were the several parts of the silver armour with which the virgins harnessed him for the stern conflicts of the way. In his youth, when in Italy—a greater Crichton—he dazzled the *literati* of Rome and Florence with the brilliance of his gifts and stores of learning, yet, on challenge, feared not to maintain his Protestant faith.

That he had faults cannot be disputed, too austere perhaps he was, yet kind withal, too violent in controversy, and, in later life, there were regrettable errors in doctrine,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine.*



though in all things he was sincere. But when the worst is said—and this is the worst—it must be remembered, though ‘the first of men,’ that he was only a man. Like those who, without a tithe of his virtue and genius, cavil at him, he was human. With such transcendent endowments, had he been flawless, whatever he would have been he would not have been a man. Though so far above the common run, he had that saving ‘touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.’ Dr. Garnett claims for him, as poet and man, ‘unity of character.’ Never, before nor since, has such a splendid figure crossed the broad stage of English public life. He was the Sir Galahad of English literature, ‘born a knight.’ ‘Fit person to do noblest and godliest deeds.’

Such was the instrument by which the Providence who watches the rights and hears the prayers of men and nations, worked out His purpose. Like a flood, the best spirit of ages past had poured into him. Above all, the England that longed to break its fetters found in him its voice. And what a voice: more resounding, more melodious never had been and never could be heard. His writings reveal his pride in his patrimony. ‘John Milton, Englishman.’ Long held down by ‘the Norman gripe,’ in the author of the *Areopagitica* and the *Paradise Lost*, England came to its own. It took a thousand years to make a Milton.

It is, however, with the prose of Milton that we have to do. *The Areopagitica*, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, the *Eikonoklastes*, *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Commonwealth*, *Of the Reformation Touching Church Discipline*, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants’ Defence against Smectymnuus*, *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy*, *The First and Second Defence of the English People against Salmasius*—all these belong to the period of his controversial writings. Brief references to them, with quotations taken here and

there, will be sufficient for our purpose. To have achieved this double excellence has been given to no other man in the long line of the immortals in English literature. In poetry epical and dramatic, after the Greek model, in the poetic drama, in the ode, in pastoral and elegiac verse—in each he comes easily first. So in his prose he attained a strength and grandeur never equalled by any writer in his native tongue. It is not, however, with the form, music, colour, and rhythm of his style, but with the substance of his teaching, that we are concerned.

The literature arising out of his domestic troubles, his original views on education, his theological tenets, and, in old age, his decline on the high Arian position—all that we must leave. Politically all his contention revolves around one central principle—an ordered liberty. A Free State, a Free Press, a Free Church and that without which man is a slave—Moral Freedom. All these applications of the principle of liberty rested on the assumption of the essential dignity and independence of man. That was the bedrock of Milton's political system. On the original rights of man—not without duties—reinforced by his own imperious consciousness, and taught in the Book, which was his daily companion and solace, is built up the whole structure of his political and ecclesiastical economy.

Out of this position arises, first the necessity of a Free State, or constitutional government. A freely elected parliament was the corollary of such primal rights. It was the only safeguard of a nation's liberties. To this king and people alike were to be subject. In his view, to the duly chosen burgesses of the people was to be delegated by heaven the entire power of the State. There is little limit to the terms he employs in referring to the chief council of the nation. 'The indiminishable majesty of our highest court—the law-giving and sacred parliament. There is no civil government that hath been known more divinely and harmoniously tuned, more equally balanced, as it were

by the hand and scales of justice, than is the Commonwealth of England where, under a free and untutored monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation and suffrage of the people, have in their power the supreme and final determination of the highest affairs.' Knowing what poor human nature is, it will not be expected that Parliament came up to Milton's ideal. Still, it is right to invest duly constituted authority with respect. Nothing is gained by expecting bad things from any government, however frail and erring. From these quotations, and, especially, from *The Tenure of Kings*, it will be seen that, at bottom, Milton was republican. Further even than this he goes in his defence of the execution of Charles I.<sup>1</sup>

In dealing with such disputable matter the time in which Milton lived should be taken into account. Those were not the idle days of gay tourneys and mimic wars. Rather did the dread collision of the embattled hosts on the plains of heaven body forth the poet's conception of the tremendous issues of the times. The life-and-death struggle which was going on had everything to do with the root-and-branch policy of Milton, and his calling on the 'two-handed engine at the door.' That Parliament should be supreme will not, perhaps, be contested, but that the only way of getting rid of an impossible king was by the axe must not be admitted. Still, if it cannot be justified, it must be credited to the difficulties created by the real enemies of the State. Had Milton been living now it may safely be assumed that he would not have endorsed all that any other Milton might have written then. In his writings we can separate that which is accidental and temporary from that which is essential and eternal. All would now admit that the execution of Charles I. was a blunder—a blunder not repeated in the eventual disappearance from his misgoverned dominions of the last of the Stuart kings.

It is the abiding principles, expounded and enforced

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<sup>1</sup> *Reformation in England*, Bohn, Vol. II, p. 408.

so eloquently by Milton, that, for their rule and guidance in high affairs of State, Kings, Lords, and Commons should take to heart. The aim of the prophet of the Commonwealth was 'to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility.'<sup>1</sup>

Passing from this, the immediate effect of the *Defence of the English People against Salmasius* may be noted. J. A. Hamilton says, 'Milton's pamphlet set all Europe laughing at the man, who had hitherto been acclaimed by senates and petted by queens. Scholars wrote to scholars, half deriding, half pitying him. He was a jest among wits. Monarchs gave him the cold shoulder. As for his great opponent, he had proved himself a defender of England's rights in the forum of civilized Europe.' His reply to Salmasius revealed him to the Continent as the greatest literary man of the age. To some extent in virtue of his equipment and achievement he occupied the proud position held by Erasmus in an earlier day.

And in his view the policy he would have applied to home affairs was just as applicable to the state of things abroad. Oppression he hated with all the strength of a nature self nourished on the free gift of heaven. Acting as Latin Secretary for Cromwell, at the time of the Waldensian persecution, he wrote letters to the Duke of Savoy and the other crowned heads and high powers of Europe, the like of which had not been known in the history of English foreign correspondence. In tone correctly diplomatic, they abate nothing of their purpose to stop the persecution. At the back of them was Cromwell, the man who would not sign the French treaty until Cardinal Mazarin bent his pride to the distasteful task of putting the needful pressure on the Duke of Savoy. Those were great days for England. The spirit of this extraordinary correspondence finds poetic expression in what Palgrave calls 'the most mighty sonnet in the English language':

<sup>1</sup> *Reason of Church Government*, Bohn, Vol. III, p. 479.

'Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints.'

With the Free State comes the Free Church, or Religious Liberty, for we may postulate that the two are inseparable. 'To be free,' he says, 'is the same thing as to be pious.' 'None can love freedom but good men.' Or as one, on whom the mantle of Milton fell, Wordsworth, says—

Claims from other worlds inspirited  
The Star of Liberty to rise.

The contrary is unthinkable. At whatever end we begin, Church or State, the one will inevitably involve, or evolve, the other. Obviously, if any one particular denomination is established there is no equality; but, practically, religious freedom is secured when all intolerable disabilities are removed, and the Church of God—taking the term in its most comprehensive sense—enjoys the primitive and indisputable right to worship.

On this question, Milton sets forth his views in three tracts. He rests his argument on the right of every Christian, including the laity, to be his own priest. Such a position is not incompatible with the office and authority of the Christian pastor. The latter claim, with limitations, is acknowledged, and its value insisted on. Still, he demands for every man the privilege of direct access to God, the liberty of Covenant, the liberty of Free Grace.

If there be anything in such a theory of a Church it makes short work of Prelaty, and all its assumptions and pretensions. The two ideas won't meet—they won't mix. They are mutually exclusive. Happily Englishmen are not governed by political or ecclesiastical logic. They abhor cast-iron rules. There is a spirit of accommodation in the national character by which even a rigid system—if not too rigid—can be converted into a fairly workable machine. A few quotations will speak for themselves.

He refers to 'that feast of free grace to which Christ has invited His disciples.' He protests against 'engaging the untainted honour of English knighthood to force on

their fellow subjects that of which they themselves are weary—the skeleton of a mass book.’<sup>1</sup> ‘Let not human quillets keep back divine authority.’ His independent spirit rebels against ‘that impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorius and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish.’ He denounces those ‘who would sew that Jewish veil which Christ by His death on the cross rent asunder.’<sup>2</sup> He protests against ‘the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive Mount Sinai in the gospel.’<sup>3</sup> From this, and much more, it is clear that Milton did not approve of State Churches. He was no friend to bishops. As an Independent he was opposed alike to Prelaty and Presbyterianism. ‘New Presbyter was but old Priest writ large.’

Unlike the doctrinaires of the French Revolution, and certain modern socialist teachers, Milton and his Italian parallel, Mazzini, insisted that the only true support and nourisher of national independence and liberty was moral—it was inward freedom. This only was real liberty, and was to be sought from within, rather than from without. The emancipation of the soul from the bondage of the senses must precede political and all other external liberation. Otherwise there is no true freedom. ‘If the truth shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.’

We take last that which, in some respects, should come first, for it is the greatest and best known of all the prose writings of Milton, his appeal for a Free Press—the *Areopagitica*. The story of how it came to be written is so well known that it need not be repeated here. This demand for uncensored publication of opinion has been carried still further in these days, and, in some notorious instances, with less wholesome reason in it.

In the same spirit in which Milton addressed the powers

<sup>1</sup> *Reformation in England*, Bohn, Vol. II, pp. 406–7.

<sup>2</sup> *Reason of Church Government*, Bohn, Vol. II, p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 495.



of Europe he propitiates the Presbyterian parliament of England. 'Your mild and equal government,' 'the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness.' Such terms have a savour of flattery in them—implying, as they do, certain moral attributes on which the powers of the day set little value, and which their subsequent conduct scarcely justified. Such an ascription of virtues to the eminent authorities to be propitiated might, some would say, be catalogued along with such fulsome effusions as the dedication of the translators of the Authorized Version to 'the Most High and Mighty Prince James.' Whatever may have been the ground and motive of these undeserved compliments—and for them Milton justly claimed absolute sincerity—none the less did he stressfully press his point, and, for all time, his essay remains the most splendid plea for free thought and free discussion in the language. In it is a coinage of phrases which will circulate as long as our literature lasts, and it cannot be doubted that the truth of that trumpet appeal will be the glorious freehold of the world for ever.

Though it seems sacrilege to dismember such a book, let us extract a few of Milton's sayings. 'As good almost kill a man as kill a good book. A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.' Modern censors and reviewers will sympathize with this: 'There cannot be more tedious work than to be the perpetual reader of unchosen books.' 'Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.' 'Should ye set up an oligarchy of twenty engrossers to bring a famine upon our minds again?' 'Liberty which is the nurse of all great wits.' When we remember the effect—which we shall now notice—of this classic protest against the high-handed action of the 'New Forcers of conscience,' may we not say that, as the result of his prose writings, and apart from his poetry, the Free Press of England is Milton's noblest legacy to his race?

This brings us to the question which concerns us most nearly—What was the effect of Milton's prose writings on his own times, and what is their influence—if any—on ours? It cannot be claimed that the authorities of the day paid much heed to his plea for an unlicensed press. The Long Parliament took no notice of it. So far as the High Court was concerned the *Areopagitica* might just as well have been consigned to the flames, unread and unlamented. The Lords and Commons of England do not generally show much respect for outside theorists.

But, if the representatives of the nation treated Milton's appeal with such scant courtesy, it was not so with the people. The effect of the stinging sentences of the *Areopagitica* soon began to manifest itself. As we are informed by Masson, Milton's jocular specimens of the imprimaturs in old books took hold of the popular fancy. In the records of those times of dull oppression by a Puritan legislature, of whom better things might have been expected, this is one of the most refreshing things of which we read. True it is that humour never dies—it belongs to every age and people. To prefix to certain books a mock licence became the joke of the day. This ridicule helped on the emancipation of the press. As the result of this contagious mirth—at their expense—the licensors took a more modest view of their duties, and modified their official action accordingly.

Like all prophets, Milton lived before his time. Roman intolerance had got into the official blood of the nation, and, as we have seen, even Protestants, despite their dearly purchased liberties, applied, if not to the same extent, yet only too well, the fettering methods handed down to them of the secular and spiritual powers whom they had superseded. Hence it was that the teaching of Milton did not, at once, take its full effect. After the Commonwealth came the deluge of the Restoration, when everything that was pure and lovely and of good report went down in a sea of ribaldry and licence. And with corruption in Court and

Church came religious deadness and persecution. It was the age of small statesmen at home, and of contempt abroad. The land of Wyclif and Milton ceased to know itself, and became a byword among the nations.

But Milton was not dead, nor was Oliver Cromwell. The truths for which they stood could not die. The stream of a nation's rights and hopes may become diverted by rock and boulder, but, when these are passed, it seeks and finds the main channel again. In the English language such words as Milton's had never flamed out before, nor have they since, but they have touched kindred souls, and, through these, they are working out the high destiny of a great people. Witness enough can be supplied to support the belief that, in a supreme degree, John Milton has been a maker of modern England.

To the abiding influence of Milton on English political thought, an anthology of testimonies might be easily compiled. That political thinkers and reformers have been inspired by his writings might be taken for granted. Surely no man is less in need of an advertisement than the author of the *Areopagitica*, and it almost requires an apology to his memory to advance any proof that he is still a mighty force in the English-thinking world. But when, in an amazing passage in his 'Milton' in the *English Men of Letters* series, a writer of distinction like Mark Pattison 'regrets that he who was meditating the erection of an enduring creation "such as the world would not willingly let die," was content to occupy himself with the most ephemeral of all hackwork,' with other still more disparaging observations, it does seem necessary to adduce some evidence—taken mostly at random—to the contrary.

The poets have notably been loyal to their chief. No man has done so much as Wordsworth to transmit the Miltonic tradition and spirit. With extraordinary force he lent his own great influence to this. Most infectious is

his enthusiasm. His own sonnets on the subject stand like eternal pillars in the English constitution.

Mark Pattison calls him 'the moral king of English literature.' Channing describes the *Areopagitica* as 'a precious manual of freedom, an arsenal of immortal weapons.' So with Macaulay, John Richard Green, and many others. 'The words of Milton are true in all times.' They hold the future in fee. 'He believed that the principles for which he contended would be coeval with the progress of the nation.' Their inspiration came from heights above the Aonian mount. And not England only, but her daughter nations, and the peoples of the Continent, have felt the impact of the work, with which we must associate his name and influence.

If, in 1789, the French plunged into excesses that were unheard of here, it was because with their revolution religion had nothing to do. Any national movement that is anti-Christian carries in it the germs of its own destruction.

It is not, of course, assumed that other diverse, and even hostile, influences have not worked against those great reforms for which Milton laboured, with brain and pen. Ultra-ecclesiastical and reactionary political movements there have been, and always will be. Nor is this altogether to be regretted. Uniformity is sometimes another name for stagnation—and death. Yet, when all is said that can be said for or against the things we do not like, it remains that the forces which are strongest will in the end prevail, even when alien influences are domiciled in the life of the nation. Tried by ethical and historical tests, we must fain think that the great principles of national righteousness and national liberty for which, through the best twenty years of his life, Milton contended, must show the general way the Anglo-Saxon peoples will take.

Without undue vanity Milton knew well the affluence of power that was in him. And, strengthened by this noble self-consciousness, he clearly foresaw the immortality

which awaited his poetical work. Like a prophet did he anticipate that his efforts on behalf of the purity and independence of the people would endure. Working to the last—almost alone—for this he gave up his personal liberty, his eyesight, his tranquillity—his all. If any one would speak of England, let him take Milton for his text. More than to any other of his race is the adjective applied to the name of the blind old man justified—‘the divine Milton.’ For much of his prose and verse, he believed that his authority came to him on the holy mount, to which only dedicated spirits can attain.

What other writer in the language could have written as he did in his ‘Second Defence’? ‘I imagine myself, not in the forum or on the rostrum, surrounded only by the people of Athens or of Rome, but about to address in this, as I did in my former Defence, the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe. . . . Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian Ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty, which they so long had lost.’<sup>1</sup>

We have endeavoured to show that the sentiment of an ordered liberty, which enters so deeply into the mental and moral fibre of the English people, and with which we associate so much of what is most valuable and enduring in religion and conduct, in Christian politics and literature, found its noblest expression in Milton; and that, from the commanding height of his character and genius, power has gone forth that has moved the best thought of his country in all succeeding ages, and for all time will make for that which is holiest and strongest in the nation’s life. Certain it is that in those moral affinities, which lie deepest in us all, two names are for ever united—Milton and England.

R. W. G. HUNTER.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Second Defence*, Bohn, Vol. I, pp. 219-20.

## CONFUCIANISM: CHINA'S ESTABLISHED RELIGION

### WILL IT SUFFICE?

**P**ROBABLY few English readers are aware of the agitation that is now disturbing so large a section of the Chinese people, concerning the advisability or inadvisability of a State, that is an Established, religion for China. As, however, to-day what is happening in the East directly and indirectly affects the West and *vice versa*, it is assumed that intelligent readers will be interested in this question, which in so many ways is vital to the Chinese Empire, and which will materially modify the future of missionary work.

During the development and towards the close of the revolution, many of the younger spirits were loud in their clamour, not only that there should be religious freedom, but that throughout the empire there should be for religion, as for commerce, 'an open door,' and that every religion should avail itself of 'The Favoured Nation Clause'; that is to say, whatever privileges were given to one, could be claimed by, and should be granted to its rivals.

At that time apparently, idolatry, so closely associated with decadent Buddhism, and wizardry and witchcraft, an integral part of Tauism, did not count. It followed, therefore, that of indigenous religions, Confucianism alone was in serious danger. Priests might enjoy their glebes, and say masses for the dead; wizards might befool the ignorant and pocket their fees, if all parties were agreed; but Confucianism, throughout a long past, and through many vicissitudes, recognized by Chinese, Tartar, and Manchu, as the religion of China, was in danger; her robes were to be torn from her person, and her crown plucked from



her brow. In the future she must stand or fall by her own inherent merits, and by her own ability to command supporters.

There have appeared evidences of a backward swing of the pendulum, as sudden as unexpected, as widespread as unreasonable. Probably this swing is but a part of recent retrogression on the part of the new rulers of China, and is owing to the too eager activity of the younger members of the revolutionary movement. The recent ill-advised rebellion against the rule of Yuan Shih Kai throughout the southern provinces has given a whip to the conservative party, which they were quick to use. The rebellion was engineered, it may be by well-meaning, but hot-headed and impatient firebrands. It was these also who were most loud and persistent for religious freedom. The older and perhaps wiser heads can now anathematize this party and all its works, which involved the country in agitation, tumult, and bloodshed, and, with some show of reason, condemn it and all its creeds.

It follows that since the party, as a whole, has been seriously discredited, no part of their programme can escape either adverse criticism or militant opposition. So it seems that whilst nominally religious freedom is granted, a larger section of the older party demand that Confucius be regarded as the Sage of China, and that the system of worship that has long borne his name be now installed as the recognized State religion.

The recent movement began with one Chan un Cheung. He agitated with tongue and pen, and under the favourable conditions now obtaining, did not find it difficult to gain a favourable hearing. Tens of thousands of scholars, throughout the Empire, danced to his piping.

Much ink has been spilt, and many pencils used up in belauding the person, the virtues, the attainments, and the teachings of the Sage. As the sun looks down and enlightens the whole world, so Confucius has shone on the

Chinese Empire from hoary antiquity, with peerless moral and intellectual brilliancy. As the waters of the great Yangtse irrigate and beautify vast areas of China, causing the desert to blossom as the rose, so the example and teachings of Confucius have enriched and beautified the homes of China, from the remotest past even until to-day. These panegyrics—only a tithe of what one may read—remind one of the eloquent tribute bestowed upon the ideal Sage by K'ung Keih, the illustrious grandson of Confucius himself. The writer has of course his grandfather in his mind. 'All-embracing and vast, he is like heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. Therefore, his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarian tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and the moon shine; wherever frost and dews fall;—all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honour and love him. Hence it is said—"He is equal to Heaven."'

One is surprised that, at times, the thoughtful section of the Chinese people does not see the illogical position that looms up before them, when they compare all this with the actual facts. If Confucius was so absolutely worthy of this unstinted adoration and support, and his teachings so divinely beneficent, why is it that millions of the people of China have turned away from him to the more spiritual teachings of pure Buddhism, and the more mystical dreamings of intellectual Tauism? Why is it that Confucius is little more than a name to many millions of this great Empire, whilst Buddhist idols and Tauist demons have seized so powerfully upon the popular imagination? Why is it, if Confucius is so satisfactory, that the people are, and apparently long have been morally so indigent and bank-

rupt? The medicine that does not heal is looked upon with suspicion, and left in the warehouse of the inventor; the patent that is of doubtful utility is soon discarded. I have often thought that the Chinese themselves, in view of all the facts, must at times be painfully conscious that there is something lacking somewhere, and that, therefore, this excessive praise is to some extent an empty sound.

What exactly is implied by the installation of Confucianism as the State Religion of China does not appear. That he will enjoy a monopoly of worship will hardly be allowed, for he himself during his lifetime, neither sought this nor dreamt thereof; moreover, as we shall see presently, he recognised 'gods many and lords many.'

As far as events have developed up to the present, and tendencies warrant us in venturing upon prediction, it would seem that it would imply little more to the masses of the people, beyond a clinging to the ancient ritual and superstitions that received the support of the Sage during his lifetime long ago; a general holiday on his birthday; more general recognition of his merits; in schools and colleges all students to worship him; everybody to have a good square meal.

A certain section of the people, comprising many merchants, are contemplating the erection of Confucian temples in the great cities of China. A large meeting was convened in Canton a month ago to further this object. What Confucianism connotes to these enthusiastic people may be partially understood by the character of the 'church' proposed. It will contain a big hall, in which his doctrines may be preached; another hall 'consecrated' as a meeting-place for the Chamber of Commerce, and local municipal bodies; also a suite of rooms that may be used as a modern hotel. The new 'Institutional Church' at home is left far behind, though it follows in the footsteps of the Chinese ideal.

There are two classes of Chinese who are opposing

this new departure. The one is composed of enlightened scholars, and business men, many of whom have resided in foreign lands. These maintain that Confucius is in no sense divine; whilst his moral teachings and social epigrams are excellent, his spiritual teaching is of the most meagre kind, wofully lacking in scope and clearness; that, in fact, in the spiritual sphere he is quite unsatisfactory, and within the radii of soul-life, especially in regard to his visions of the world beyond, he is, and frankly confesses to be, colossally ignorant. Why then, 'establish' him as a spiritual guide for the whole Chinese nation? Let him be a moral philosopher and nothing more.

The other section comprises native Christians, the head quarters of whose organization is at Peking. They maintain boldly that if Confucianism is made a State Religion, Christians, who to-day furnish many of the ablest men of the Empire, will be debarred from serving their country, and their sons from entering Government Colleges, where Confucius must be worshipped. Moreover, in the Chinese Empire, there are Mohammedans, Buddhists, Tauists, Free-thinkers and Christians; it will be unfair to these, and detrimental to the unification of the Empire, so essential at this stage, if one religion out of many is specially favoured, and all the others ignored. Finally, they assert that Confucianism, to those who understand what is meant by religion, cannot truthfully be regarded as a religion at all.

Readers may appreciate a brief summary of what Confucianism really is. It is taken directly from what have been called the Confucian Gospels, and one or two other ancient and canonical books, with which I am tolerably familiar, as familiar in fact as with our own Gospels.

It may not be out of place to summarize, first of all, in a few words, what is generally accepted as authentic in the Sage's parentage and early life, though none of these incidents are referred to in the works noted above. Confucius was the third son of a very aged sire. His father, whose

name was Shuh Leung-heih, was a soldier, and the history or legends of his times represent him as a man of great bravery, strength, and size ; indeed he is said to have been ten feet in height. Heih had married early in life, but his wife had borne him only daughters—nine. He had two sons by an earlier concubine. When over seventy years of age, he married a young maiden, whose only son was Confucius. Like Mencius, his devoted expounder, he was soon bereft of a father's care, for the mothers of each were early left widows. We do not know a great deal about his early life, except that he devoted himself to study with extraordinary assiduity and persistence ; moreover, he must have been endowed with an imperial intellect. Speaking of himself late in life, he says : ' At fifteen I devoted my mind to study ; at thirty I stood firm ; at forty I had no doubts ; at fifty I understood Heaven's decrees ; at sixty I had an obedient ear ; and at seventy I could follow after my heart's desires, and not transgress the right.' These references to personal experiences are only directing posts, but they indicate gradual development and expansion not only of intellectual acquirements, but of moral excellence.

What, then, is orthodox Confucianism ? We know that it has held sway over the minds of the Chinese through two millenniums and now seems emerging from a partial eclipse. Naturally we revert first of all to the strictly religious aspects of the question, and in answering the query, ask in turn, Is Confucianism a religion at all ? This question has been answered both in the affirmative and negative. If religion means worship and reverence towards One Personal Supreme Being, then Confucianism is not a religion, but a system of ethics, confused by occasional worship offered to various beings, ghosts and demons included. If, on the other hand, a system that inculcates any kind of worship is a religion, then Confucianism must take its place amongst the religions of the world.

Confucius appears not to have recognized clearly a

personal God, though he refers to "The High and Lofty One"; but, as far as I remember, only when he quotes books old in his day. 'Heaven' he refers to occasionally, in a way that suggests personality; but we know that 'heaven' is often appealed to by us in this vague fashion. Cicero says, 'The discharge of our duty towards God is called religion.' If this definition be correct we shall find that Confucianism is only an apology for a religion, for he never had at any time of his life a strong, tight grip on Theism; at best his system was polytheistic.

On the other hand, Miller says, 'True religion is always mild, propitious, and humble; plays not the truant, plants no faith in blood, nor bears destruction on her chariot wheels; but stoops to polish, succour, and redress, and builds her grandeur on the public good.' If we accept this, then Confucianism is a religion, for as far as the Sage's life, opportunities, and energies enabled him, he could justly claim to have lived and acted in harmony with the spirit of this ideal. This important question has often been discussed, and we leave it where we find it, surrounded with the nebulae of uncertainty. There is no clearness shining like a star. If Confucianism is a religion, it is an imperfect one; if a system of ethics, religion has entered into his system.

What, then, are the objects which, either by example or precept, he teaches his disciples to worship? Though their name is not legion, they are more in number than they ought to be. First and foremost, we assuredly must place the worship of ancestors. 'He sacrificed to the dead as if they were present.' On the other hand, he affirms that 'for a man to sacrifice to a spirit which does not belong to him, is flattery.' Other references could be quoted, but would not add clearness to what has been said on this point. The spirits, the manes, the shades of departed ancestors must be sacrificed to and worshipped, and to this day this usage easily holds the field in China, and is the most import-



ant factor in the religious life of the nation. It should be said in passing that Confucius did not initiate this cult, as apparently he did not initiate much else. He found it recognized by those amongst whom he lived, and he added his sanction.

But worship is not confined to departed ancestors. In addition, worship is offered to the myriad spirits who were supposed to be filling the space and air all round the worshippers, though it is difficult to be sure whether the spirits of the ancestors are included or not. He says, 'How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them! We look for them, but do not see them; listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them. They cause all the people in the empire to fast, purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order that they may attend their sacrifices.'

On the other hand, too great a familiarity with these spiritual beings is condemned, and he taught that, 'Whilst respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them is wisdom.'

On the whole, it is difficult to get a clear idea of the Sage's attitude; spirits surround us, he says, but yet we must keep aloof from them.

Then, further, we have what are described as 'the spirits of the land and ground.' Who and what these are is not very easy to determine. Once Confucius and his disciples were standing together, when he asked several of them to give expression as to their ideals of contentment and happiness. What would they severally wish for, if it were within their reach? One Teen replied, 'Towards the end of spring, with the dress for the season all complete, along with five or six young men, who had just assumed the cap, and six or seven youths, I would wash in the river, enjoy the breezes of the rain altars, and return home singing.' We are not concerned here with the love of nature which Teen showed, and which Confucius, with a sigh, commended.

We are told, however, that these altars were surrounded by aged trees, and that sacrifices were offered on them, and that around them dancers danced, who, in this way, propitiated the spirits who, when placated, would send down abundance of rain upon the parched earth. To-day, also, these altars may be seen in the fields in South China, and though the ritual now is of the barest kind, tea and rice are still poured out for the spirits, that they in turn may nourish the fruits of the earth.

Lastly, we find more than one reference to 'The Great Sacrifice' offered every fifth year to the 'manes of the principal ancestor of the reigning family.' Once Confucius was present at this sacrifice, and apparently was angered at some remissness in the prescribed ritual, or encroachment on the Imperial prerogative on the part of the worshipping prince. He said, 'After the libation has been sprinkled, I have no further wish to look on.' When asked to explain the meaning of the sacrifice, he retorted, 'I do not understand it.'

We see, then, that Confucius himself recognized and sanctioned the worship of ancestors, of a multitude of spirits, heavenly and mundane, and also the 'First Imperial Ancestor' of the reigning dynasty. Whatever vague conceptions he may have entertained of the existence and prerogatives of the 'Eternal' were hidden behind a confusion of ideas respecting demons, spirits, and the manes of departed ancestors. He certainly has given no clear deliverance of a 'High and Lofty One, who inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy,' nor in any way inculcated worship of him as an elementary duty. A system, whose objects of worship are what we have found them to be—demons, shades, spirits, and other undiscovered and undiscoverable denizens of the vasty deep—can never in our opinion adequately meet the crying needs of the human heart, nor is it worthy of being enthroned as the Established Religion of China or any other country.

Confucius, whilst failing to state clearly that there is One God only whom men ought to worship, is yet more unsatisfactory in his teaching as to man's outlook in regard to the future life. Indeed, Confucius nowhere makes any claim to a revelation, and, therefore, in the nature of things, could only ascertain what other philosophers, ancient and modern, have guessed at, and longed for. The question of questions, asked 2,500 years ago in China, as well as in other lands, to the solution of which men are devoting their abilities and energies to-day, is, 'If a man die shall he live again?' From one source only can a satisfactory answer to this question come. It is whispered only by revelation.

Confucius, however, never made any claim to a revelation, and never dreamt of such a source of knowledge. He claimed for himself that he was a 'transmitter' only, and not a 'maker,' and so the voice of revelation on this as on other important questions never penetrated his ear. He once asked, 'Am I indeed possessed of knowledge?' and answered, 'I am quite ignorant.' Indeed, he confessed over and over again that he was an ordinary man, of average abilities and common passions, who won his way to the position of a competent teacher and a far-seeing philosopher, because, early in life, he set his mind on learning, and was not to be deflected from his one ambition by any attraction of his environment, however potent.

Hence it came to pass that when face to face with this all-absorbing question, he was as ignorant of the answer as any other man. Nor did he hesitate to confess his inability to throw any light thereon. In a general way he seemed to endorse the aphorism of Tsze-hea, 'Death and life have their determined appointment.' When, however, Kee-loo 'ventured to ask about death,' Confucius replied, 'Whilst you do not know life, how can you know death?' and so left the questioner as ignorant as he was before.

It may gratify the vanity of Chinese scholars to say that 'whilst Confucius did not inform Kee-loo because he did not understand, yet he gave him a profound answer'; to the ordinary mind this answer seems to suggest blank ignorance, and this is more than likely to be the truth. In this regard, then, Confucius was woefully at fault. The masses of the people have tacitly recognized this, and so have turned for satisfaction towards the remarkable dreamings and aspirations of Buddhism, which at least have a theory of a future life, grotesque enough indeed, but still a theory, which does not leave the answer to the question unattempted, nor does it leave the questioner in the blank ignorance of eternal night.

Another question awaits us. 'What is worship?' according to Confucian canons. It is not easy to discover any clear reply to this query. In the New Testament we have ideals of what spiritual worship is. St. Paul tells the Ephesians that they were to use 'psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord, giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.' In the Chinese gospels we look in vain for anything so definite and comprehensive as this.

Perhaps the most detailed statement is found in the Chung Yung. It is too long to quote. The reference harks back to the doings of the first emperor of the reigning dynasty. In the spring and autumn, the temples were 'repaired and beautified.' The 'ancestral vessels' were arranged and the worshippers presented themselves in their best robes. But what is the object of it all? By these ceremonies the different grades of the Imperial ranks were accentuated, and a distinction made between 'the more noble and the less.' 'The inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given for each to do.' 'They served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have

served them had they continued among them.' 'By the ceremonies of the sacrifice to heaven and earth, they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they sacrificed to their ancestors.' Still and ever the same. Ceremonies! Ancestors! Good government! How sublime by contrast does the great deliverance of Isaiah (i, 13, 14) stand out! 'Bring no more vain oblations.' The worship sanctioned by Confucius seems to mean little more than a recognition of the ceremonies in vogue at and before his time, and apparently the character of those who performed these services is a matter of absolute indifference. In no case do we recall the suspicion that the gods, demons, and manes of the ancestors were at all interested in the moral character of those who approached them. Moreover, worship is regarded as important, because the several officials might thereby understand their position in the graded ranks, which the Chinese to this day regard as so important. If worship were regularly offered each would keep his place; there would be no insubordination, no rebellion, no republic.

On the other hand, worship must be offered to ancestors, because it was assumed that this would conduce to their repose. As the son must nourish and reverence his living parents, so it was assumed that this reverence must continue and sacrifices be offered to them when they have gone into the great unknown. No doubt, though vaguely expressed, if at all, there is the assumption that some ill-defined blessings would also fall to the lot of the living, if they continued to discharge these filial and religious services. But the whole outlook is exceedingly vague, and the actual ideals of the Chinese to-day vaguer still.

The next important point that calls for comment is the attitude of Confucius in regard to prayer. We need not read far in the New Testament before we see, both by precept and example, what prayer meant both to Christ and His disciples. Prayer is insisted on from the first,

and large rewards are guaranteed, both spiritual and temporal, to those who fulfil the conditions, and pray in 'faith, believing.' Perhaps there is no more thrilling reference than that in which St. Paul describes his usage, when writing to the Ephesian Church (iii. 14-19).

There are two clear references to prayer, and one concerns the Sage himself. He is very sick, and one of his disciples asked if prayers should be offered for him. The Sage, though ill, is still a stickler for etiquette, and asks, 'Is there authority for such a step?' The disciple referred to certain recognized liturgies, in which was the sentence, 'We pray to you, O spirits, celestial and terrestrial.' The Sage replied with more than a touch of self-satisfaction, 'My praying has been for a long time.' There are two or three facts here of interest for the student. The word translated prayer means 'to write a eulogy'; or 'to eulogize in prayer,' and the idea seems to be that the petitioner would recount the virtues of the subject for whom prayer was being offered, in order to induce the spirits to hear and answer. Then one notices the vagueness of the 'beings' to whom the prayers are made. No One Omnipotent and Ever-Merciful Father is assumed, but the general crowd of spiritual beings which, as we have seen, are supposed to occupy all space. The somewhat curt answer of the Sage is also worthy of notice. The explanation is that, whilst prayers may be said for the average man, none was needed for Confucius. 'The Sage had done no wrong, nor had any reformation to make, hence he said that he had been praying all along.' It is perhaps impossible to penetrate his thoughts, but the attitude is very unsatisfactory, and all the more so, because, as far as we remember, with an exception to be mentioned later, this is the only clear reference that he ever made to this great duty and supreme privilege. Christ spent whole nights in solitary prayer, even on the mountain; Confucius seemed to feel that no one needed to offer prayer for him at all.



Another very weak point in Confucian theology, which must not be ignored, is the alleged connexion between human conduct and divine approval or disapproval. In other words, are the gods of Confucianism cognizant of our daily actions, and if so, do they approve or disapprove? We venture to think that, as in regard to the questions already discussed, so here Confucius is lamentably at fault. That the gods are cognizant of our thoughts and ways may, perhaps, be suggested by sundry hints; that they daily watch and hourly condemn or approve is neither affirmed nor assumed.

Confucius, like all other moral teachers, discusses repentance. The idea, however, that fills his mind is cold and even lifeless, compared with the Christian conception in this regard. Indeed, it connotes nothing more than a change of conduct. The Sage never appears to have dreamt of the Psalmist's conception, 'Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in Thy sight.' If there has been divergence from the strictest rectitude, it is enough if there be a change of view, and a transformation of conduct. From first to last it is assumed that each man possesses sufficient will-power to effect this change. 'When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them.' 'I have not yet seen one who could perceive his faults and inwardly accuse himself.'

As with repentance, so in regard to forgiveness, his teaching is vague. One famous aphorism, to which reference has already been made in the paragraph dealing with prayer, tells us that 'He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray.' If in some way a man has incurred the anger and resentment of Heaven, the door is shut against hope. He must continue in the assurance that Heaven above frowns upon him, and the deed, once done, is ever afterwards remembered by an implacable enemy. Without expanding these important questions, we feel that the system is feeble in its condemnation of

'faults,' over confident in its assumption that a man can change his nature and habits at will, and unwarrantably stern and relentless in its judgement, that 'he who offends against Heaven' must ever afterwards bear the heavy burden of the consequences of his recklessness or carelessness.

We have in this article only touched upon some of the great principles that are and cannot but be fundamental to any 'religion' that claims the devotion of a great people. The other side of Confucianism, its ethical ideals, we have not traversed. These are excellent, though even here, in our opinion, there are grievous gaps. Confucius leaves quite untouched the very serious and ever-pressing problem of 'sins of the flesh,' and as far as his recognition went, adultery, fornication, and evil concupiscence might never have left a black footprint on the moral and social life of human kind. Still, we honestly recognize the splendid ideals of ethical excellence which he repeatedly emphasized, and to which he urges his disciples' devotion. 'When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others.' 'In a high situation he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation he does not court the favour of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men.' It would be possible to add to these conceptions of moral excellence, but these will suffice to show that lofty ideals passed before his vision and won his sympathy.

We deeply regret that this strong tide has set in in favour of Confucianism as the established religion of China. That the movement is natural is admitted; the older scholars, who have spent their lives in a minute study of Confucianism, but who are very ignorant of most other things, cannot but look affectionately on their cherished idol. The tired

pedestrian in Shanghai, before he saw a motor or an electric tram, looked with contentment on a Chinese wheelbarrow. Moreover, all the flags and drums, and songs, and panegyrics, and halls, and feasts that human heart can devise, and human brain and hands create, will never make good the radical deficiencies that exist, nor fill nor span the gaps that yawn in Confucian theology. Thoughtful, instructed, and advanced minds clearly perceive this. For the sake of the people themselves we are sure that it is to be regretted that this step has been taken, and that it is being backed up by so many of the official classes. In the long run, whatever narrow-minded scholars may affirm, a people—an instructed people—will never be satisfied with Confucianism.

An established Confucianism would be a serious hindrance to untrammelled missionary work. It is true that those who advocate Confucianism as the State Church also say that men may believe what they like, and worship whom and how they like. They probably mean what they say. But in a hundred ways, with a people like the Chinese, subtle, secret, social and political difficulties will be thrown directly and indirectly in the way of those who would become Christians, which naturally and inevitably must retard the march of events.

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## BERGSON AND EUCKEN IN MUTUAL RELATION

**N**OWHERE in their published books (so far as I know) do these two great thinkers, who have lately risen as stars of the first order, and are now in the ascendant in the philosophical firmament, mention, or write with any reference to, each other. There is, however, a real and vital relation between them and in the endeavour to set out that relation they may be made to shed light on each other and make clearer the position and significance of each.

The relation may well turn out to be that of mutual support and corroboration, in spite of the fact that their thought moves in different planes. Eucken is a moral philosopher, while Bergson is a natural philosopher, in plain English, a psychologist. Eucken first expounds his principles and then shows how, followed out, they lead human life to its ideal and fitting form. Bergson, on the other hand, analyses the natural psychological elements of living experience, and seeks to show that where life has had free course, has run and been glorified, there is revealed actually at work, a principle, the prototype of Eucken's principle. Let me illustrate. Suppose I am an honest man. That phenomenon might be studied from two points of view, or rather on two planes. First, the plane of the ethical relations involved, how it would affect my social position, the spiritual welfare both of myself and other members of society, and what ideal of life it serves. That is the plane on which Eucken would work. But now, honesty, or any other principle, however exalted, must manifest itself in certain natural physical movements of the body which may be studied apart, at first, from any moral significance or assumption, i.e. on the plane of pure natural history or

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psychology. If I buy a suit of clothes, Eucken would begin by expounding the principle of honesty and show what course the transaction should take consistent with his idea or ideal of the moral principle. But Bergson would take it as a natural occurrence, and would observe first, how with one hand, I received the suit from the tailor, with the other dipped into a certain bag-like arrangement fixed on my person, and taking out a number of coins, handed them over to the tailor. From a study of these actions he would argue to the presence behind them of a unifying principle. From this it may be easy to understand how it is that Eucken, in his later works at any rate, moves entirely within the sphere of human history and from that draws all his illustrations. In fact not the least merit of Eucken is his wonderful insight into the fundamental and eternal principles of history and his power of interpretation. His book translated under the title of 'The Problem of Human Life,' and by which perhaps he will be longest remembered, might very well have been entitled 'The Philosophy of History.' Similarly it is easy to see why Bergson's illustrations—marvellously profuse—all come from the sphere of natural science. All the more valuable is the support he affords to the more mystical method of Eucken.

One of the correspondences between them becomes manifest from a consideration of their attitude to previous systems of thought. A good deal of criticism is embodied in their writings, especially in Eucken, who, naturally, since a system of thought as such is a characteristic human product and an event in history, describes and criticizes several systems before setting out his own. He has most to say, however, of Naturalism and Intellectualism. Similarly Bergson contrasts his own theory with the same systems, though he calls them Materialism and English-Idealism. They also coincide not only in their common opposition to these two anterior systems, but in what they allow to them. Eucken has no patience with Intellectualism just as Bergson

turns English-Idealism inside out. Eucken insists upon the living truth there is in Naturalism—it is real and true to a certain extent; his own system indeed—Activism—being perhaps described as the process by which the spirit of man transforms what is real in Naturalism, into the new spiritual order, or the idea into the ideal. Similarly Bergson accords a place to Materialism, his system being perhaps described as giving to matter its true place, and proving that there is something else beyond it, viz. Spirit.

The suggestion of this correspondence may seem to imply that Bergson slips off and on from one plane to another. That is not so. It is only when you come to the end of the two men's work that the correspondence appears. Bergson is purely and simply on the natural level. The word religion is not used once in his books, nor do I remember the occurrence of the word 'morality.' Only once has he used the word 'religion' in a lecture given last winter, in Paris, to an audience interested in religious questions, even then it was only cursorily used. He uses the phrase 'spiritual life' freely, but that he treats as a purely naturalistic phenomenon. While no writer ever set forth a more finished edifice of thought so far as it goes—perfect and consistent in every detail—the building is not complete. In fact, he especially disowns completion, and though, when the completion comes, it will probably lead us into the domain of the ethical and religious, and will undoubtedly be found on the side of the angels, yet Bergson keeps the two things apart, and to understand him—the apostle of clarity born of distinctness—it is essential to keep in mind his position. But still on his own plane the correspondence referred to is present. As Eucken criticizes and condemns, in their claims to be ultimate moral orders, Naturalism and Intellectualism, so does Bergson utterly overthrow as metaphysical theories—Mechanism and Radical Finalism.

In the constructive part of their work also it will be found that they support each other. Eucken has given,

in his later writings at any rate, the name Activism to his own system. Bergson is not careful to affix a label to his theory, he is only anxious you should experience the thing for yourself. But a name is suggested by the title of his last book, *Creative Evolution*. To act, in the proper sense of the word as used by both thinkers, is not to go through a prescribed routine—Bergson says it is impossible ever to do such a thing—but to achieve something ever new, to create. So that Activism may be found to be identical with 'Creative Evolution.' Ultimately a term used by Eucken in his earlier books may be adopted, 'Personalism'; only our ideas of Personality will need to be corrected and enriched. In the end it will be found that the two philosophies are convergent and teach the same principle as a rule of life in all its aspects.

But now to come down from generalities to particulars. Let me endeavour to give a brief outline of their specific doctrines. Take Bergson first. The entire work of the French philosopher may be described as a consistent development, application, and illustration of one fundamental idea of 'duration.' Bergson's merit and originality lie in his bringing this idea so clearly to light, and showing its function as constitutive of living experience.

By 'duration' he does not mean the drawn-out continuance of any experience, but rather its persistence. It is the real presence of all past experiences at any present moment. One or two illustrations may make it clear. A certain minister was fortunate enough to save a little money in every circuit in which he travelled and had it deposited in almost as many banks as circuits he had travelled in. In the North he banked with the Lambtons, in Birmingham with the City and Midland, in the South with Lloyds, and so on. His separate bank-books are a record of his pilgrimage.

In the late disaster at Senghenydd a collier was found with all his savings in gold on his person. The accumulated

savings, all in one lump sum, in the pocket of the miner, may represent Bergson's idea of the duration of our past experience. We carry it all about with us. There is no past time in the sense of certain stations at which we have deposited experiences like the minister and his banks. All that we have gone through is here now with us, in what we *are*, constituting our character and helping to determine our actions, as the fruit of that character.

This aspect of duration may be further seen in this way. Last year, 1913, in the almanacs, calendars, newspapers and history, is one and the same year. Suppose in a shop there lay on January 1, 1913, two identical copies of a note-book and diary, and they were bought by two men, one thirty years of age and the other seventy. Suppose they, day after day, read the same papers, heard the same news, took part in the same enterprises, entered the same events up in their diaries. In spite of that, the year would not be the same to the two men, just because the elder would bring to bear upon the events the gathered, 'endured' experience of sixty-nine years, and the other only twenty-nine. At the end of the year the elder is a little more weary of life, while the younger is, most likely, only more zealous. The 'duration' being different in the two cases, makes a different thing out of one and the same year. Or again, suppose a man to walk up a staircase. Now, abstractly, each step may be regarded as identical, and calculated to produce an identical effect, say of tiredness, on the climber. But really it is not so. Each step has its own peculiar effect. Take the seventh step; when the man is there, he has with him the entire accumulation of the previous six efforts, not in abstract discreteness, but all in one interpenetrative, indivisible feeling of fatigue with the seventh added. On that step the separate efforts cannot be distinguished. The effect of all the previous efforts is all there in one, they endure in the present. The separate feelings are not lying behind him on the previous steps. Hence



each step is, in real life, quite a different thing from any previous step, it is a new thing, because of the duration in it of the past. The same is true of any step in life, whether on a staircase or not. It is new, fresh, incalculable (although when once taken we can look back and see what led to it, but beforehand we could not). It is a creation. This may give an idea of what Bergson means by 'Creative Evolution.'

The essential part of his work is contained in three volumes. The first was the thesis for his doctorate, in 1888, when he was twenty-nine years old, and was entitled, *The Primary Factors of Consciousness*, translated into English by the not altogether adequate title of *Time and Free-will*. The second book was published in 1896, *Matter and Memory*. The third appeared a few years ago under the title of *Creative Evolution*. This, brilliant as it is, is the direct outcome of his first thesis. It is by no means the least remarkable characteristic of this writer that from first to last his writings are so consistent.

In his first book he develops his great concept of duration and the incommensurability of deep-seated psychical experiences, and uses these two principles to clarify the common idea of time, and to prove the reality of 'free-will,' or as he calls it, 'freedom.'

His second book, *Matter and Memory*, is more technically psychological. In it he proves the reality of matter and the reality of spirit. He contends that the soul is identical, in its manifestation at any rate, with memory. Consciousness is not a mere function of the brain, but transcends, or to use his word, overflows it. The brain is the instrument of expression or point of attachment by which, he says in the interesting lecture already referred to, 'the spirit pays attention to life.' He likens the relation of the soul to the brain to that of a garment to the nail on which it is hung. The nail represents the brain which is transcended by the soul just as much as the nail is by the cloak which

hangs on it. The spirit is the great reality. Matter, according to Bergson, seems to be that which opposes spirit, but by overcoming matter spirit realizes itself.

The third book, *Creative Evolution*, gives us at once his Theory of Knowledge and Theory of Life. The history of the origin of life is the history of the origin of knowledge. For him consciousness is life. Its main drift may perhaps be gathered by use of a figure. Imagine a mountain range or an immense wall to represent matter, and before it the mysterious force we call life, charged with the task of finding a way through the mass to the other side. It begins, or as Bergson says, inserts itself, at a certain point. Once inserted it proceeds by means of dissociating itself in different directions. By this power of dissociation it is able to make tentative experiments in any direction, not all of which succeed. In some directions it is thwarted and brought to a stop, finds itself as it were in a blind alley. It turns and twists and sometimes even may seem to go backward, but at last it wins through to the other side, and is able to turn round and see the way by which it has come in the free self-consciousness of the human. The side tracks in which it has lost itself on the way or entered blind alleys, are the lower forms of life, vegetable and animal, in all of which Bergson asserts the presence of consciousness, but in vegetables it has fallen asleep, in animals it is present in the form of instinct, which he describes as intelligence sunk in matter, drowned, hypnotized by life. Only in the self-consciousness of man, as realized in the power of choice, is the spiritual principle of the universe truly free and independent of matter. But he contends that all the way through, consciousness was present from the first, it is not a mere by-product of material evolution. It is really present in plants, though fallen asleep, and may on occasion wake up as in sensitive and certain kinds of climbing plants. Also instinct is not merely intelligence in the form of habit. The difference between pure instinct and

intelligence is one of kind, not of degree. Hence Bergson has no such ideal of one and the same being having the nutritive powers of a plant, the instinct of a spider, and the intelligence of a Newton. That is a caricature. Pure intelligence alone, obedient to understood law, is his ideal. He contends that this was present at the beginning, and would, I am sure, be willing to confess with the writer of Genesis, 'The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters.'

This figure of a mountain wall, however, is not altogether apt, if you wish to get an adequate conception of his theory. I offer it merely as a first sketch. We tend to think of matter as having been always in existence here in a certain mass, undiminished, indiminishable. That is not the case universally, though possibly it may be, within certain limits of our experience such as, say, this planet, though even that may be doubted. One of the merits of Bergson's method is the way he delivers us from the oppression of such petrifications as the 'conservation of matter and energy.' Matter is that which opposes spirit. Extended objects are not necessarily identical with matter. Extended objects only go as far as actual human experience, spiritual activity has laid them out. Thus, naturally, it has a limit, though a receding one. True matter in its essence is not capable of measurement. It is only evoked by the activity of spirit, and extended objects are only worked-up matter.

Suppose we review in history the building of a city, from the time when there were no houses, only an empty plain of fields. Let us imagine that the men builders were invisible to us, pure spiritual activities. We should see bricks appear from somewhere, come together, and houses seem to grow and arrange themselves. But presently it would appear that a spiritual idea was realizing itself in the created matter, which at one and the same time realized an intelligent plan, as that of affording shelter and places of assembly, but at the same time offered opposition to the

free movement of the spiritual builders. Before the houses were there they could, presumably, move in any direction; now that the houses are up, they can only move in certain defined lines, they must keep to the streets and doorways, they can't go through walls. But the town is not infinite in size. It has a limit, although continually growing. Travellers coming from beyond it on one side may pass through it and beyond it on the other side, turn round and look at it from a distance, free from its murk and limitations in the glorious air of heaven. In the true home of the spirit the oppositions of matter are vanquished. As Psalm cxxvi. says, 'When the Lord brought back those that returned to Zion, we were like unto them that dream,' i.e. we moved as we do in dreams, without sense of effort, free from the restraint of material things.

Bergson makes great use of an illustration which he obtains by comparison of the eye of a vertebrate such as man, and the eye of a species of scallop or shell-fish called a pecten, which is strangely similar to that of a man. It has been suggested that Bergson's argument is vitiated because there are evidences in geology that animal organisms such as the trilobites had developed eyes, before the point was reached at which the molluscs diverged from the line of evolution, which later on led up to the vertebrates. Bergson does not in the least contest that fact. It is quite in keeping with his contention that in spite of the fact that there are manifold parts in any organ, the function of the organ is always one and indivisible. In criticizing the Eleatic philosophy, Bergson himself shows that in any object which the human intelligence undertakes to analyse, there will necessarily be an infinite, inexhaustible number of parts. An eye is made up of a multiplicity of details, cornea, sclerotic, iris, retina, rods, cones, &c., but the act of sight is one. This is a vital factor of Bergson's system—the *pièce de résistance*—and points to the line on which his work will develop, as will be seen later. Take the eye as an illustration.

Physiology tells us of the great number of parts constituting it. Something from the outside, a tiny speck of dust, may touch just one of these vital parts leaving the rest quite unimpaired, but the sight is often completely destroyed. Now in evolution these parts are modified, often much more radically than any external speck of dust could do, not only one part, but numberless parts, and yet the sight is not impaired, but improved. Mechanical, naturalistic evolution has no explanation to give of the appearance of these modifications, the collocation of the original elements indeed, than that of an external accident such as the falling of the speck of dust. What has kept the complementary balance in the parts of the eye? To say they have come together mechanically and by their collocation have developed sight is to postulate a miracle. Bergson contends for the initial presence of an innate, unitary, indivisible, spiritual principle, creating and balancing the parts. The Psalmist was right. 'He that planted the ear shall He not hear? He that formed the eye shall He not see "first"?'

Another illustration may be added. Imagine a top spinning. Drop over it molten adhesive wax. Would it not be a miracle if pieces of wax fell on the top in spots symmetrical with its form, and instead of upsetting the balance of the spinning-top, increased its bulk and also the force of its rotation? But suppose, instead of wax falling on it, the top had the power to develop, from within, buds, and of itself increase its bulk. These buds might appear here and there; but the top, by slightly altering the axis of its rotation, could preserve its balance and keep up its spin. Then when buds had appeared all round it, and its original symmetry was restored, if the original axis was regained and the added bulk matched by an increased rate of spin, would it not be a sign rather of a primacy of function?

Now if in the midst of change this marvellous co-ordination not only shows itself in one and the same organ, or even in organs of a kindred nature, but in such radically diverse



circumstances as in the eye of man and the eye of a shell-fish—and surely they are a long way apart—are we not forced to see the working of one and the same spiritual principle?

If you were shown two roses identical in size and colour, the one made from cabbage leaves and the other from sawdust, surely you would rather ascribe the origin of the flowers to the working of an intellectual function than to any mere outcome of the collocation of the cabbage leaves on the one hand, or the grains of dust on the other. That is Bergson's position—infinite multiplicity of the constituent parts of the organ, yet simplicity and oneness of the vital function, of the original vital impulse.

This affords a convenient point of transition to Eucken, of whose teaching the most fundamental principle is *The Unity of the Spiritual Life*, as that of Bergson is the Unity of the Natural. This was the title of his first great book which appeared in 1888 the same year as Bergson's *Time and Free-will*. It is a more difficult task to condense Eucken's system if for no other reason than the difference of literary output, which in the case of the German runs to some dozen volumes, as against the Frenchman's five. Moreover, Eucken has not the magic of style and clarity of thought which is so marked a feature of Bergson. The charge has indeed been made against him of vagueness. He certainly is diffuse; but when his point of view is reached, his apparent discursiveness is seen to be true wealth of thought, just as the details of a stereographic photograph spring into perspective when one gets the proper focus. Aids towards this point of view, in Eucken's case, are given in a small volume of *Prolegomena* published in 1885.

His great tenet is the Unity of the Spiritual Life. He treats this, however, not as a natural phenomenon to be simply revealed in action, as does Bergson, but as an ideal to be striven after in ethical endeavour. This he makes plain in his second great book, *The Struggle for a Concrete Spiritual Life*. His subsequent books have been develop-



ments and applications of the ideas contained in these two. *The Problem of Human Life* and *Present-Day Spiritual Tendencies* form two complementary parts of a History of Philosophy, the former dealing with the great personalities who have contributed to the world's thought, the latter with systems of thought. *The Truth of Religion* and *Outlines of a New Theory of Life*, are applications of his theory, the former in the direction of Religion, the latter in that of Ethics. These are his chief works, among which is *The Meaning and Value of Life*, a small, brightly written, popular exposition of his philosophy.

In working out his system he develops two spiritual categories—Personality and Freedom. By realizing these, his claim is that we overcome the oppositions inherent in life, and achieve the Unity of the Spirit, the true goal of life, divine as well as human.

By Personality he does not mean the usual significance given to the term—that of subjective individuality. He shows that personality involves rather inclusiveness than the exclusiveness of individuality. He practically agrees with Wilfrid Richmond in his fine essay on Personality, that it is capacity for fellowship, which is the same idea, implied rather than developed, in Moberly's great book, *Atonement and Personality*. The more relations a man has with his fellows, especially if those fellows be members of an ordered society, the richer becomes his personality. Yet a man ought not to seek to cultivate relationships for the sake of his own personality, but rather seek to co-ordinate himself to the ideal society, so that the whole society, in its ideality, may find concentrated expression through him. It is a case of losing one's life to find it. If we belong to an ordered society having a serious, consistent, ideal purpose of existence, and in working out our aim we make common stock of our separate conceptions, and if then each member endeavours to set forth, concentrated in himself, the entire ideal of the society, then his personality

would attain its highest development. This is not an easy thing to do, as it would involve reconciliation and adjustment of each individual point of view, and those of the rest, and that of the whole society as one. But every problem implies a solution, if it be a living one—and in overcoming life's oppositions we achieve the great unity. St. Paul had this in view when he said, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.'

Similarly the idea of Freedom is worked out in the light of its ideal. Freedom is not licence, but implies relation and even restraint and limitation. It is Personality in action. It is the equivalent of Bergson's idea of 'mastery,' mastery obtained by serving. Thus to have the freedom of a community one must be a loyal member of it. An outsider has no liberty, and the liberty that any member enjoys depends upon his conforming to the ideal of the society, as embodied, if you like, in certain appropriate rules and regulations, but obeying those rules he has the freedom of the community which then stands to serve him and to further his interests. Of course, in real life it is not so easy as membership of a little society. There, it means hard struggle and sacrifice. Suppose a friend says we are free of his library; he is using the word 'free' in Eucken's sense. Freedom implies an object, just as Bergson's 'vital impulse' implies matter. But even then true freedom is not a gift imposed upon us from the outside, it must be won from within. To be truly free of the books in a library means study and appropriation of their contents, and that involves submission to discipline of thought and work; but having put our minds through the pain and overcome the opposition, we achieve freedom—mastery. As Bergson says, 'It is Bacon's aphorism over again, "we learn to rule Nature by obeying her," only,' adds Bergson, 'having obtained the mastery we retain it by unremitted obedience.'

Life is a struggle, and the goal is achieved by overcoming

the oppositions of life and thus attaining unity with the divine ideal order. This order, however, is no fixed and settled thing: it is for each to settle it for himself and give it a form it can only have in us. Eucken's point of view is then as creative as Bergson's. We are to contribute of our unique selves to the solution, not as Naturalism would have it, be a mere, passive link in a mechanically moving chain, nor as in Intellectualism, be an external artist trying to reconstruct a design which some one else—even though it be God Himself—has made beforehand. We have to work it out and make it our own, just because it is God who—by fellowship—works in us.

Suppose I have before me all the materials for painting a picture; canvas, brushes, colours, palette, &c. If we could imagine the materials to have a power of shuffling themselves together, and making some sort of a picture, that would be a figure of Naturalism. If I set to work and painted a copy of some masterpiece, the result would be at best only a copy. Intellectualism, even if it gave a complete view of the universe as a 'thought of God,' would be a stiff, hard, inanimate, unfruitful copy. But if I strive after a new ideal created out of such materials as I have, and use them all up, myself included, the materials would be worked up into a new order of existence, higher than the material order in which I find them given. In that unique picture, expressive of my ideal, I myself in my redeemed personality become a vital part of a still higher order, the order of God, and so immortality is achieved. As they are given, dis-united, lying about separate from and opposite to each other and myself, they are exposed to decay and liable to perish. The unity of the unique thought of the picture is of a higher order, and can never perish. It is here that Bergson's thought converges on Eucken's. In his next book he will develop his theme. Just as he sees in the bodily organ and behind the multiplicity of parts, a oneness of function, so will he show that in the universe at large,

behind all the variety and multiplicity, changing and developing of the facts of life, in its broadest sense, there is a oneness of divine effort and function. His book on religion is something to look forward to, and when it comes we shall have a great light thrown on

That one far-off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves.

It may disturb the complacency of some of our conventional notions of God. He is sure to show God working, travailing, developing. But need we be offended? Does perfection necessarily involve stillness, immobility? As Bergson puts it, that which does nothing, is nothing. All true action is fruitful, creative, and creation means something new, which did not exist before. Our God is not an Asiatic Buddha dwelling in the eternal calm of Nirvana, nor a machine moving in a routine orbit continually returning upon Himself. And if Bergson exhibits the great spiritual power struggling with the opposition of matter and, apparently, limited, we cannot object. Is not God the Father of Jesus Christ? And is not the kernel of Christianity the fact of the Incarnation, and is not that limitation for the sake of others? The Incarnation is no appendix to the scheme of the universe, no afterthought to meet an untoward contingency, 'We were chosen in Him before the foundation of the world,' 'His goings forth have been from everlasting,' out of little Bethlehem came He that is to be the Ruler—the 'Master' of Bergson, the 'Free-person' of Eucken.

These two philosophers have a message for all time. Their place is assured in the ranks of the shining ones, they are in the true succession of the great thinkers of the world. This becomes evident even from a cursory glance at their relation to the greatest of their predecessors. Modern philosophy began with Descartes, whose doctrine of reality was that of immediate experience—'*Cogito, ergo sum.*' Spinoza's fine-spun logical system obscured Descartes for a time; but when Kant came, although he was not able to

find a place in his idealism for objective reality, he was nevertheless loyal to his instincts and postulated the existence of things-in-themselves behind the web of appearances. The fault of Hegel and his disciples, the English idealists, has been that they undertook to show that Kant's 'things-in-themselves' was merely a tag of ancient empirical prejudice, inherited from the Middle Ages. They endeavoured to cast it out and construct the whole scheme of reality out of pure thought. Bergson is a true disciple of Descartes and Kant, and so is Eucken, when his principles are fully carried out. Descartes was right and Kant was in error only in that he worked in the wrong direction—from the thinking subject outwards to life. Bergson boldly places himself in life itself and works inwards from life to consciousness. He might have taken as his motto '*Mutor, ergo sum,*' I am real because I change, and a little reflection would be sufficient to show that it is tantamount to Descartes' '*Cogito, ergo sum,*' I am real because I am conscious. So, in religion, this modern thought is in line with Luther, Augustine, Paul, the great experimentalists, who faced the deepest questions of life from out the heart of living, conscious experience and found strength and peace in their unshakeable confidence in what their inner consciousness revealed to them: Luther with his 'Here I stand, I can no other, so help me God'; Augustine with his 'For we have another sense-organ of the inner man, of a higher rank by far than any of the body. By this am I certified that I both exist and know that I exist' (*De Civitate Dei*, Bk. XI, ch. 26, fin.); Paul with his 'I have been crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live'; and also, if one may reverently say it, with the greatest of all, the Lord Himself, when He said 'Because I live, ye shall live also.'

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## THE COMING CHRISTOCRACY

A GOOD working theory of missionary effort, the march of the cross by the vanguard of the Church Militant, perhaps yet remains to be given. Popular notions are usually wrong, being either untrue or inadequate, and only popular fallacies. The current conception that we send out men and women to give something or impose something which the non-Christian populations do not possess—in other words, to bestow a favour—with the attitude of *de haut en bas* or an unctuous superiority, and this among minds often far more subtle than ours, with all the inherited wisdom, the power and prestige of many-centuried civilization behind them—is simply and grotesquely absurd. The missionary, and the sub-missionary, his wife, if they understand their business, will embark on the Adventure of Divine Love. They will go out in the quest of faith, to recognize in others the inspiration of the God they carry with them in their hearts. They will be eager to receive, to learn, to seek, and if it may be so to sit themselves at the feet of masters or sages who have much to teach. They will expect to find God's revelation in distant countries, and Christianity before Christ embodied in the profound religious doctrines and the deepest metaphysics. Max Müller has left on record his own judgement, formed from wide and searching study at first hand, that the philosophies of India pierce more to the soul of things than even the better known and classical Hellenic speculations. See his Appendix to the late Archbishop Thompson's *Outline of the Laws of Thought*. Missionaries must not dream of any condescension on their part, as if they were omniscient and had nothing to gain from even the most uncivilized or least religious nation. God has never and nowhere left

Himself without a witness, and some light exists everywhere, in the ancient tenets of sacred books, or in institutions that visibly and forcibly incarnate the thought or worship of ages. The pedagogue tone, the pedant spirit, the temper of Orbilius, who prefers to *verba verbera*, must be laid aside. Such a posture or imposture is fatal to any good work. The missionary pioneers must go out in all simplicity and humbleness of mind, to an interchange of religious ideas, a *communicatio* if not *idiomatum* at least *utilitatum*, an exchange of precious precepts, a ventilation of fundamental principles on reciprocal terms, and in the light of the Eternal Cross common to all peoples, and above everything to exhibit in their own character and conduct the Divine Love and the Divine Spirit of sacrifice. And let us thank God that many do in this marvellous new efflorescence of the modern crusade. The man who takes Christ's gospel will bear no message of pretentiousness, of arrogance, or prejudice and a foregone conclusion. He will avoid the faintest suspicion of coming down, but rather convey the impression of going up, like an eager disciple or explorer, or even possibly an ignoramus who visits for the first time a strange and mysterious and interesting land, prepared to be courteous and considerate and docile. But in this gentle and modest attitude he will jealously maintain his personal dignity, and surrender nothing that is vital in the tremendous truths which he holds dearer than life itself. There need be no compromise of coward expediency, no false toleration of fraud and cruelty and lust. For the deification of such qualities does not make them better, but worse. Meekness and temperance in manner or speech, and a willingness to listen and discuss, are not incompatible with an inflexible bearing when the ultimates are at stake. But the open-minded and open-hearted missionary will soon discover kindred sentiments and catholic ideas and find himself treading familiar ground.

*Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

The human mind, the human heart, is the same all the world over. To say that East and West will never meet, or never mix, is to talk nonsense. There always remains the common denominator. *Pectus facit philosophum*—nay, *hominem*—no less than *theologum*. For the East is not East entirely, and the West is not West entirely. They have many points of contact, many points of agreement. In the supreme essentials, the East and the West touch. Even the bazaars of Calcutta and the streets of London, however different or antagonistic in particular ways, yet in some are identical. When every deduction has been made, certain constants, certain invariables endure. But, when we approach ethics and religion, in spite of immense contrasts, we meet similarity and concurrence. Strip the native of the mere externals, strip the missionary of his, and the naked man, the naked soul at bottom, is very much the same in both. The former can never be treated as just a poor, blind, blundering heathen. The central sympathies must be ascertained, the antipathies at the circumference must be discounted or dismissed. Bishop Westcott has said that Hinduism is religion without morality, and Buddhism morality without religion. There exists, of course, a measure of truth in this epigram, but like most epigrams it forfeits much by the compendiousness of its form. And those who know Christianity simply through the medium of the trader, might plausibly assert it was neither religion nor morality. Practices in religious procedure, in devotional expression, that are revolting to us, nevertheless, bear the sanction of ages and an immemorial past, and should be treated with respect. We should reverence our most degraded brothers. Violent condemnation is wrong—nay, is useless and positively mischievous. The missionary, without committing himself to the danger of a summary judgement, should seek for some kind explanation or suggest something better. Ethnic morality, the various conceptions of moral obligations by various peoples,

must not be condemned offhand, they all have some saving element, some redeeming virtue (or vice). We must allow for the age and the culture and the recipient minds. The principle of relativity considers the time and temper, the ethical reaction so definitely adapted to the action of particular causes and conditions. A just correspondence will be found. Customs that appear to him barbarous and brutal probably go back to some worthy and noble reason, or derive from some exalted or exalting motive. He may even unearth, from all the accumulated deposits and rubbish of centuries, some splendid fact of misguided altruism, or beneath the blood and dirt and corruption something like the spirit of the Cross.

The position to be taken at the first and retained throughout, is that of common humanity and a common need of worship. We all want the guidance of some morality, we all want the guardianship and inspiration of some religion. Begin with the foundation stones. See if Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, do not spring from the same root of necessity and dependence, the same hunger for eternity, the same dream of a divine origin and divine nature, reflected, however faintly, in every soul and every civilization. The deeper we look, the more certainly shall we discover in all the grand centrality of the Cross, expanding in different directions and speaking in a variety of voices, according to the time and place and people, but practically expressing the same thought or craving, notwithstanding perversions and abuse and eclipse, when the forms and ceremonies began to be more than the spirit—the end and not the means to the end. And in the more or less fixed civilizations of the East, we shall be prepared to find accretions utterly opposed to the more fluid civilizations of the West, and fatal to any true development or progress in principles. In the one case, there will be the stable equilibrium which if not checked leads at last to death and dissolution, and in the other the unstable

equilibrium which leads to more life and fuller life. But even under the layers of superstition and the devilries of corruption, when growth appears choked and stopped, we shall always see lingering on some green shoot of faith and love, some palpitating germ of immortality. For the same Holy Spirit breathes everywhere, and everywhere breathes charity and fellowship. We are all ultimately and indeed initially brothers, and have we not all one Father ?

Yes, and the Everlasting Cross acts everywhere, in the East no less than in the West, and the universal need of its inspiration appeals alike to fellow saints and fellow sinners. The Brahmin is a Christian in spite of himself, the Buddhist is a Christian in spite of himself, the Mohammedan is a Christian in spite of himself. And we Christians are not without some Brahmin and Buddhist and Mohammedan leaven. We meet on Calvary at the foot of the Cross, where we agree to differ and differ to agree. And yet, as the increasing missionary movement testifies, the differences daily grow less and the agreement grows more. Just as brother recognizes brother, and the family of faith enlarges, and we endeavour to see things and live in the light of a common brotherhood. The measure of our love is the measure of our life. Nor can this honestly be called syncretism, but rather catholicity. The spreading of the new spirit bears witness to a new revelation, not so much from above as from within. And the title-deeds are a mutual trust. Our hands all over the world have frequently touched, but now our hearts are meeting in the dawn of a fresh creed, the assurance that one Father claims us and joins us together in Him by the Cross-consciousness, in the greater charter of universal charity. Christ comes again, at His Second Advent, as the supreme symbol, the final solvent, the eternal inspiration. Eclecticism has no meaning here; 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work.' And what we feel is just the continuity of the First Advent with the



Second. They constitute at bottom one and the same process, one and the same principle. God is coming to His own, is being born again in His children, He intends now to reign over a regenerated world as King *de facto* as well as King *de jure*. What, on the last analysis, means evolution unless spiritual revolution, the incarnation of the divine in the human, expressing itself in a new birth and a new baptism? We have had the Parousia, like the poor, always with us, and we knew it not. But every now and then, as a fresh continent emerges from the creative depths of the ocean, so at long intervals a fresh and vaster outpouring of the Spirit speaks and thrills through souls with a common fire and a common language. Creeds and colours have too long divided the races. But yet the black man may have a white heart, and the white man no white nature, and not the 'white stone' of sealing. The ethnologists, like Count Gobineau, have proved conclusively that no race exists without some strain of the negro, if the Caucasian possesses the least. No wonder we read of a black Christ, no less than a white Christ. Put not your confidence in mere complexion that is but skin deep or in the merest externality. 'The wise man alone is free, whatever be his colour.' 'No man hath power over me, I have been set free by God,' wrote Epictetus. 'I have come to know His commandments, and henceforth no man can lead me captive.' The rabbis used to say, 'All Israelites are the children of kings.' Nay, rather the *homo liber* of Spinoza, or the free servant of Christ. The racial bar is great, but the religious bond is greater. The cosmopolitan, the Catholic, the Christly tie of universal brotherhood, co-extensive with the world, now issues its challenges. And the greater arises as the enemy of the great and will prevail. For the Second Advent is beginning, has begun, and only awaits our acceptance of its revolutionizing presence. The signs demanded by the eschatology of the New Testament are fulfilling themselves in our midst. They surround

us, they obtrude themselves on our notice. Christ is indeed this very moment entering into His Kingdom. The results, the rapidity of the divine progress depend on us and not on Him. For even He cannot compel us to obey the Cross, and He wants no unwilling subjects. For those who have real faith, eyes to see and ears to hear, and hearts to understand, who are not obsessed with petrified preconceptions and antiquated hypotheses, the grand new Divine Affirmation is now taking place. We stand on the threshold of a new thought thrown out from the Everlasting Yea. The destructive process is ceasing, and the constructive process is arising in its giant infancy. We perceive it in a general upheaval from the very depths of society, and the passionate approximation towards solidarity among the working classes of all kinds and countries. They feel, if often unconsciously, the Christ leaven of love working in their midst and in their hearts. They know, without being able to express themselves, that some miracle is happening, some marvellous change is in the air and pulses in their blood. Sometimes they endeavour to translate their crude feelings into words and works of violence. They know not what spirit they are of. But they all realize that the expenditure of millions and millions every year in bloated armaments are millions wasted, and no solution of the pressing problem. The pulpit does not help them much, and in some places drowns on with dreary pious platitudes. But the rose-water of a tepid religion will not help or hinder the cause.

We want leaders who can lead and look beyond the field of political economy, and divided panaceas, or class legislation. People will always follow a real master, a true prophet, with a kindling message of fire. But, so far they recognize no saving idea, no vital rallying call. The oracles are dumb. Priest and prophet alike seem afraid of committing themselves to a definite proposition, and wait on the people, for guidance or for the direction of circumstance—at the expense of others; while a living formula of flame, a burning bolt of thought,

would rouse universal enthusiasm and leap to the light of action. The nominal teachers appear to have no belief in their own belief, and to be playing with provocative ideas that only coruscate in nothing.

Damaging criticism, they fancy, has whittled away so much of the old-established views, the orthodox vision, the First Advent, that they feel more than doubtful about the Second. They have never really thrilled themselves to the indwelling of the Eternal Parousia. Accordingly they wait and watch for something to happen. But nothing can possibly happen till they awake and try to do something positive and practical and helpful, if they simply open the gates and make the road ready.

Our accredited teachers and preachers appear to be disputing about the length and breadth of their brooms, and leave the genuine sweeping to others. They forget that the First Advent implies the Second, and that they stand or fall together. They form but two aspects of one and the same eternal moment, the Everlasting Love. We who can but visualize things historically and, *sub specie temporis*, are obliged to divide the divine act into two—the Salvation and the Judgement. But nevertheless, *sub specie aeternitatis* they are just different sides of the same thing. Love, by the necessity of its holy nature, accuses and convicts, and the sinner stands condemned in its presence. The Saviour cannot help being also the Judge, and the Judge equally manifests the Saviour. If we possessed no conception of time, we should understand this at once. We should be at the centre of things, and see no break in the sublime unity of the whole scheme. Nothing condemns like love and nothing saves like judgement. The kiss of forgiveness comes even before the cry of repentance. When we are a great way off, the Father sees and hears, and runs and pardons, and absolution almost precedes the confession of sins. For convenience, we are forced to separate and abstract and disintegrate processes that are spiritually indivisible. We de-

liberately sever the text from the context, and put asunder what God hath joined together—mercy and judgement. Indeed, in the early stages of thought we could not act otherwise, we should be unable to understand anything. But then we must always distinguish and divide, only in order at the last to attain a closer and more organic union. The two Advents grow on the same stem, flowers of one stalk. In the first there was a great vital fresh budding-point in the history of the race, and God was taken into man. *Et verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis.* In the second there will be a great budding-point and man will be taken into God. First *Deus homo*, and then *homo Deus*. And all who love and know and serve Christ will at last break for ever the bondage and burden of the flesh and be delivered from the temptation and tyranny of the world, to reign and rest with Him in wider ministries of love.

The message of the missionary and sub-missionary can be but one, the coming King, the reign of heaven, the rule of God, the new theocracy. It is the curse of militarism, at its worst in Germany, that forbids an immediate incarnation of the Christ conception. This bars the gate of Paradise against a fresh affirmation with a damning negation. The man with the sword or rifle follows the man with the olive branch of the Cross, to frustrate or undo all his divine work. Too often, alas, this looks like Penelope's web, perpetually destroyed and perpetually renewed, though ever with some slight advance, as one forlorn hope and desperate outpost pushes on after another into the thick darkness. But the Everlasting Nay is but the shadow that attends the Everlasting Yea. It may hinder, but it cannot stop the forward march. 'For all the promises of God in Him are yea and in Him amen unto the glory of God by us.' Negations in themselves are unfruitful, and yet they imply something positive and productive—they bear fatal witness against themselves, practically they commit suicide in the end, as evil always does. Affirmation is a heavenly instinct,

and when it carries behind it as now a wave of cosmic thought, it means a declaration of God—that He is once more spiritually manifesting Himself. The negationist says, ‘Stand still and see.’ But the affirmationist cries, ‘Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward.’ So the missionary and the sub-missionary must preach the gospel of the Second Advent, or they will preach in vain. If they do not, they will be virtually denying the First Advent, and the continuity of the gospel. The two mutually complete each other, the one is the supplement of the other. Like action and reaction, they work together. Unless they bring with them the doctrine of the coming Christ, the great Christocracy, and unless they wear the panoply of the Parousia which arms them at all points, they will lack everything. They will possess weapons neither of offence or defence. But equipped with that they will find the whole armour theirs—the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, the helmet of the hope of salvation, the girdle of truth, the shoes of peace, and the sword of the Spirit. But they must fight upon their knees, or build as the restorers of Jerusalem did with a tool in one hand and a weapon in the other—yes, fight out, and build up, what God fights and builds in them.

Where are the signs of Christ’s coming? O a thousand times rather, where are they not? They crowd in upon us at the present moment so thick and fast that it is quite impossible to enumerate them. What means this national, this universal accidie, this cosmic unrestfulness, this sore depression and distress everywhere, among those who live for pleasure only, no less than among those who live only in pain? Why all over the civilized world do the labouring masses seethe as with the birthpangs of a new hope and new thought, like a woman in travail? Why this strange stirring of the blood, this ferment of faith that expects it knows not what, just as before the First Advent? It is this, completing itself in a new and giant curve. The hungry sheep look up and



will be fed. In intellectual spheres, as well as in unintellectual, with philosophers and fools alike, there are musings that refuse to be silenced, and the fire burns. Never were there such searchings of heart, such mental dissatisfaction, such religious discontent, such spiritual hunger and thirst. The Churches are closing up their divided ranks and drawing nearer and yet nearer to each other. The shocks that once shook into estranging frost will soon unite and shake into a consuming fire. The whole earth calls out and calls aloud for another Redemption, the whole world is crying for Christ, not least when it cries for more amusement, and few still realize the nature of their need. They ask perhaps for money, and they want instead the 'unsearchable riches of Christ.' It all seems to most a troubled dream, a dreadful nightmare, like a baby's voice out of the darkness.

So runs my dream, and what am I?  
 An infant crying in the night,  
 An infant crying for the light,  
 And with no language but a cry.

But the answer is on the way, endeavouring to articulate its message in the hearts of a few poets and prophets, and kindling darkly the minds of men, in mill and mine, in the office and workshop, in the street and in the tavern. It is no longer a dream, but the Truth itself. Embodied in the yearning of a thousand thousand hearts—nay, in the desire of all nations, it must fulfil its message, it must realize itself in some fresh social synthesis, in some fair international harmony. And if anything can be certain, it is this, that the Second Advent has begun. The general awakening of the classes at length to their responsibilities, and the sense that they are but the trustees of what they possess, with the resurrection of the masses, proclaims the tremendous fact, as the green shoot assures us of spring. 'And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.' '*Ego Jesus misi Angelum meum, testificari vobis in Ecclesia.*'

F. W. ORDE WARD.



## THE CHRISTIAN FAITH FOR TO-DAY

*The Chief Corner-Stone. Essays towards an Exposition of the Christian Faith for To-day.* Edited by W. T. DAVISON, M.A., D.D. (C. H. Kelly.)

*The New Testament in the Twentieth Century.* By MAURICE JONES, B.D. (Macmillan & Co.)

*Mysticism and the Creed.* By W. F. COBB, D.D. (Macmillan & Co.)

*A Constructive Basis for Theology.* By JAMES TEN BROEKE, PH.D. (Macmillan & Co.)

*Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism.* By W. SANDAY, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

THE volume edited by Dr. Davison appears at an opportune moment. Professor Sanday's reply to Bishop Gore has troubled his friends and caused much searching of heart among theologians. He confesses that he began his pamphlet in an indignant mood, and that events have moved 'rather too fast' for him. But a situation had suddenly arisen which acutely touched him, and he felt that he could not keep silence. He affirms once more his 'entire and strong belief in the central reality of the Supernatural Birth and the Supernatural Resurrection,' and in all that follows from those beliefs. Dr. Sanday, however, identifies himself more definitely with the school of critics whom Bishop Gore had in mind in his Open Letter. His advance during the last two years has been mainly due to the development of his own thought, though he adds 'it would be unfair not to admit that I may have been subconsciously influenced by younger writers like Professor Lake and Mr. J. M. Thompson.' The issue really centres around certain miracles which he regards as *contra naturam*, involving some definite reversal of the natural physical order. In spite of the concessions he has now made Dr. Sanday believes

that 'in a fair field and with no favour the broad lines of the Gospel tradition and the broad lines of the Christian faith verify and establish themselves.'

All this shows how timely is the appearance of the volume of essays which Professor Davison has edited. Its aim is constructive rather than apologetic or critical. As the Introduction puts it: 'The problem is a pressing one for the churches—how to preserve the older and the newer elements of the faith in their true proportions—discarding only that which is decaying, waxing old, and ready to vanish away, and admitting into the storehouse of things new and old only that which is excellent, stable, and of abiding worth.' The volume does not attempt impossibilities. It makes no pretence to cover the whole range of theology, but concentrates attention on such cardinal questions as the Inspiration and Authority of the Bible, the Divine Fatherhood, the Person, Work and Authority of Christ, the Work of the Holy Spirit, Miracles, Christian Experience, and the Relation of Religion to Philosophy and Science.

The subjects have been entrusted to men, most of whom are daily weighing these problems as theological professors and Biblical tutors. The band is strengthened by the addition of Dr. Lidgett, Dr. Workman, Dr. Maldwyn Hughes, and the Rev. F. L. Wiseman. Dr. Chapman was to have written on the Authority of the Church, but his death has robbed the volume of what would have been a delicate and discriminating study of a vital question.

Dr. Davison contributes the Introduction and the first essay on 'Revelation and Authority.' He calls attention to the unexampled rapidity with which changes of thought have been taking place in our generation. The study of the biblical records as literature and history has made theology almost a new science. Archaeology has thrown a flood of light on many departments of Biblical knowledge, and the Comparative Study of Religions, to

which every mission field has contributed, has broadened our horizon. Nor is this all. Physical Science has transformed modern thought on many questions, whilst psychology and philosophy have undergone wonderful developments. Is the Church able to annex all this new territory? Is it impoverished or enriched by the triumphs won in so many fields of knowledge? Dr. Davison and his friends 'strenuously refuse to acknowledge that it is impossible to harmonize the Christian doctrines of salvation with the modern outlook. They hold that no discoveries have been made or principles established, in the course of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth, which make it necessary to modify the cardinal doctrines of Christianity as they are recorded in the New Testament, and as they have been brought home with new power by Wesley, and a long line of faithful followers in succeeding generations.' That is the note of this volume. Let us see how the essays sustain Dr. Davison's claim.

He himself deals with the fundamental question of 'Revelation and Authority.' Our age challenges all kinds of authority, and demands that it should substantiate every claim for recognition. Dr. Davison rightly regards this as a symptom of incipient growth. Obedience, however, is vitally bound up with liberty. 'If, in the life of religion, there is conflict between control and freedom, it is evident that something is out of gear.' Rome maintains that the Church has always declared the mind of God, and is entitled to absolute submission. Luther cast off the yoke of the Papacy, but found within the Bible an authority of God in Christ before which his whole soul bowed in adoration. The Reformed Churches assumed the supreme authority of the Bible, and based their doctrines upon it. The Church of England declares in its Articles that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things that are necessary to salvation,' but a strong section of its leading clergy 'exalts the authority of an ill-defined "catholic tradition," and interprets articles,

creeds, worship and church-order only in accordance with it.' External authority is now flouted in many quarters, yet the Christian thinker 'believes in the Spiritual authority, ultimately self-vindicating, arising out of a manifold revelation which the ever-living God has made and is continually making to man.' In Christ we have a revelation of God which satisfies man's need for an authority which is divine, redemptive, spiritual, supreme, universal, and not to be superseded.

The supreme and final authority for the Christian is God in Christ. Man learns what is required of him through the Bible and the Church, 'always appealing to the individual reason and conscience, which is enlightened from within as well as without. But the chief source of authority is that record of divine revelation, culminating in Christ, which is contained in the Bible.' Biblical criticism has its acknowledged sphere, but constantly needs to be itself criticized. Inspiration is difficult to define, but it is easy to be felt by the simple and sincere Bible student to whom it brings 'a breath of the Divine Word.'

This masterly Essay does much to establish a firm basis for faith and obedience. Dr. Findlay pursues the subject in his paper on 'The Authority of Jesus Christ.' He gives a beautiful sketch of the way in which our Lord attained His sovereignty. Apart from the testimony of the Forerunner, which influenced a handful of disciples, our Lord commenced His public work with no credentials beyond those He carried in *His Own Person*. He needed no other. His transcendent Personality made its own impression, till even Thomas uttered that crowning confession, 'My Lord and my God!' The limitation in knowledge as well as in power which our Lord's humanity involved is wisely and luminously dwelt upon. 'It is evident, when we consider it, that as a child of man, entering our life in good earnest and not in make-believe, Jesus Christ was bound to have His horizon. He was a Jew of Palestine, born under Augustus

Cæsar, and brought up at Nazareth. This environment, in which He recognized the Father's providence, affected His thought while it circumscribed His work.' Dr. Findlay deals carefully with a delicate subject. Our Lord Himself confessed that on one point touching His kingdom He was Himself in the dark. 'He "knows not the day and hour" of His return. Such nescience implies a world of things hidden from His gaze—a background of shadow, such as all human knowledge carries with it; in the hour of death this shadow was allowed to thrust itself, for one frightful moment, between the Son of His love and the eternal Father.'

Our Lord occupies a double throne; at the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens and in the heart of believing men. Dr. Findlay draws an alluring picture of that kingdom. 'Enthroned in the believing heart, our Lord reaches out His sceptre over the life of mankind; the "hidden leaven" gradually assimilates "the whole" kneading of humanity. In such measure as the branches and limbs of Christ—the men of His Spirit, who constitute the veritable Church—are multiplied and spread through the earth, and come to control its resources, and as they are brought into stricter co-operation with Himself and with each other for the ends of His mission, Christ's dominion is increasingly realized throughout the life of nations; so the true Christendom is built up. . . . The authority of Jesus Christ is identical with that of the Spirit of God over the spirit of man; in its external operations and matter-of-fact issues it is thus determined and delimited. His kingdom is entered through the path of penitence, and the gate of faith; its service is rendered in the loyalty of love and the ardour of hope.'

The Rev. Wilfrid Moulton brings us on to one of the modern battlefields in his essay on 'The Permanent Value of the Old Testament.' To discern in those scriptures 'one broad and shining track, brightening towards the perfect day of the gospel,' does not debar us from learning

everything that we can from history and literary criticism. Such studies lead us to turn the pages of our Lord's Bible with deepening reverence. We owe more than we can tell to the Old Testament. From it we have gained our vision of God as 'one, holy, personal Being, the righteous Creator and Controller of the Universe,' we have discovered the real meaning of holiness, and have felt with growing self-abasement that God must Himself intervene if man is to be lifted up into fellowship with Him. Our Lord's use of the Old Testament in every solemn moment of His life and the way in which He based His own teaching upon it, are forcibly brought out. Jesus Christ fulfils the scriptures. 'He found within them great thoughts of God struggling for expression and waiting for realization. He disclosed their meaning, and fulfilled their promise.' These considerations prepare the way for an attempt to estimate the bearing of biblical criticism and modern knowledge in general on the question of the inerrancy of scripture. John Wesley's note on the genealogy in St. Matthew's Gospel shows that he did not accept 'the outworn, Judaistic, and mechanical view of an errorless record, authoritative in every syllable.' Mr. Moulton belongs to a growing company who rejoice in the new light poured on the Bible 'just when it was most needed, to enable them to receive with thankfulness all the fresh discoveries of science, and yet to see, with new wonder and reverence, that their Lord and Saviour is still the key to the world's history and the answer to its needs.' The Bible writers described Nature as they saw it. That saves us from straining after its reconciliation with modern knowledge. If we could prove that our present-day scientific conceptions are found in Genesis, 'then the next generation, with the new thoughts that are sure to come, would find itself confronted once more by the old difficulty.' What we need to ask is, 'Who taught the Hebrew writers to purge away all the gross and polytheistic notions of Babylonia?' Archaeology has



brought that old world out of its grave in the desert sands. Against such a background Israel's vision of God stands forth as glorious testimony to the work of the Divine Spirit on the mind of the Hebrew nation and of the writers of its records. The Old Testament is the record of man's experience of God, and Mr. Moulton's essay clearly proves that such a record is in the highest sense inspired.

Prof. Holdsworth deals with 'The Gospels in History and in Life.' He has made his own a field of study where 'investigation is at present confined to only a few.' In his judgement 'the general trend of criticism to-day is more in the direction of verifying, than of destroying, the assurance which has been born of the common life of the Church, and is nourished by that more personal experience which is the treasure of the individual heart.' Those who are afraid of historical investigation forget how it has strengthened the claims of Christianity in the past. Prof. Holdsworth says, 'It would almost seem as if the Christian Church were in danger of rejecting the very help that it needs most, and at the very moment in which that help promises it the victory in its long struggle with scepticism. The tragedy of the past threatens us again, and the people of God know not the day of their visitation.' That, we are persuaded, is a somewhat sombre view of the situation.

We have gained not a little from modern research. The study of the Synoptic Gospels has brought to light the fact that they contain much common matter, and that for this St. Peter, under whose guidance the Gospel of St. Mark was written, is direct evidence. In other ways the historicity of the Gospel is immensely strengthened by modern investigation. Dr. E. A. Abbott, who has done so much in this province, finds his conviction growing that 'the fourth Gospel, in spite of its poetic nature, is closer to history than I had supposed.' Instead of being a product of Alexandrian philosophy towards the close of

the second century, it must have been known and recognized as authoritative by the end of the first.

Dr. James H. Moulton examines 'The Foundation of the Apostles.' The mythical theory of Christ has been laughed out of court. Dr. Frazer holds that 'the doubts which have been cast on the historical reality of Jesus,' are 'unworthy of serious attention. Quite apart from the positive evidence of history and tradition, the origin of a great religious and moral reform is inexplicable without the personal existence of a great reformer.' Modern scholarship accepts 'nearly everything that has been attributed to St. Paul.' Nor will the theory that Paul put his own system in the place of the teaching of Christ bear investigation. His interpretation of the mystery of the Cross was accepted by the twelve and by the 'multitude of those who had often heard Jesus.' The Apostles depict Jesus with faithfulness and insight, and that is the secret of their authority for us.

Dr. Lidgett has a favourite theme in 'The Fatherhood of God,' which would generally be described as the most characteristic doctrine of the Christian faith. From the days of St. Augustine to the Reformation it fell into the background. Even Luther only partially realized it. Dr. Lidgett shows how Christ conferred this Sonship on others. Those who receive it enter into a fellowship with God 'in which the inexhaustible meaning and power of His love are progressively revealed.' God's Fatherhood becomes the starting-point of all life and thought. In God's 'dealings with mankind in Christ, and in the joyful fellowship of His love given to believers, the supremacy, the resources, and the world-embracing purpose of His Fatherhood are revealed.'

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Principal Workman regards the history of the Church, both in its activities and in its variations of doctrine, as the story of the workings of the Divine Potter. The doctrines of the Trinity, of the Atonement, of the Person of Christ are skilfully used to illustrate this development. The outstanding fact about the Church is that despite the imperfections and failures of even its most eminent leaders we see in it 'the working of the Spirit of God, and behold the constant adaptation of the Church to His ends, the constant unfolding of the fullness of His ideas.' That gives courage to face the problems of our day. John Wesley gloried in this in his famous deathbed saying, and the Church which has that watchword need not fear the closest scrutiny of criticism.

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everything that we can from history and literary criticism. Such studies lead us to turn the pages of our Lord's Bible with deepening reverence. We owe more than we can tell to the Old Testament. From it we have gained our vision of God as 'one, holy, personal Being, the righteous Creator and Controller of the Universe,' we have discovered the real meaning of holiness, and have felt with growing self-abasement that God must Himself intervene if man is to be lifted up into fellowship with Him. Our Lord's use of the Old Testament in every solemn moment of His life and the way in which He based His own teaching upon it, are forcibly brought out. Jesus Christ fulfils the scriptures. 'He found within them great thoughts of God struggling for expression and waiting for realization. He disclosed their meaning, and fulfilled their promise.' These considerations prepare the way for an attempt to estimate the bearing of biblical criticism and modern knowledge in general on the question of the inerrancy of scripture. John Wesley's note on the genealogy in St. Matthew's Gospel shows that he did not accept 'the outworn, Judaistic, and mechanical view of an errorless record, authoritative in every syllable.' Mr. Moulton belongs to a growing company who rejoice in the new light poured on the Bible 'just when it was most needed, to enable them to receive with thankfulness all the fresh discoveries of science, and yet to see, with new wonder and reverence, that their Lord and Saviour is still the key to the world's history and the answer to its needs.' The Bible writers described Nature as they saw it. That saves us from straining after its reconciliation with modern knowledge. If we could prove that our present-day scientific conceptions are found in Genesis, 'then the next generation, with the new thoughts that are sure to come, would find itself confronted once more by the old difficulty.' What we need to ask is, 'Who taught the Hebrew writers to purge away all the gross and polytheistic notions of Babylonia?' Archaeology has

brought that old world out of its grave in the desert sands. Against such a background Israel's vision of God stands forth as glorious testimony to the work of the Divine Spirit on the mind of the Hebrew nation and of the writers of its records. The Old Testament is the record of man's experience of God, and Mr. Moulton's essay clearly proves that such a record is in the highest sense inspired.

Prof. Holdsworth deals with 'The Gospels in History and in Life.' He has made his own a field of study where 'investigation is at present confined to only a few.' In his judgement 'the general trend of criticism to-day is more in the direction of verifying, than of destroying, the assurance which has been born of the common life of the Church, and is nourished by that more personal experience which is the treasure of the individual heart.' Those who are afraid of historical investigation forget how it has strengthened the claims of Christianity in the past. Prof. Holdsworth says, 'It would almost seem as if the Christian Church were in danger of rejecting the very help that it needs most, and at the very moment in which that help promises it the victory in its long struggle with scepticism. The tragedy of the past threatens us again, and the people of God know not the day of their visitation.' That, we are persuaded, is a somewhat sombre view of the situation.

We have gained not a little from modern research. The study of the Synoptic Gospels has brought to light the fact that they contain much common matter, and that for this St. Peter, under whose guidance the Gospel of St. Mark was written, is direct evidence. In other ways the historicity of the Gospel is immensely strengthened by modern investigation. Dr. E. A. Abbott, who has done so much in this province, finds his conviction growing that 'the fourth Gospel, in spite of its poetic nature, is closer to history than I had supposed.' Instead of being a product of Alexandrian philosophy towards the close of



the second century, it must have been known and recognized as authoritative by the end of the first.

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paper goes far to meet Dr. Sanday's difficulty as to some of the Gospel miracles.

Mr. Bisseker has another modern theme : 'The Evidential Value of Christian Experience.' He lays down certain criteria of the validity of inward experience, and shows how the essential Christian experience fulfils them. It is in harmony with reason, it accords with man's inner constitution, it is in agreement with the highest moral sense of the race, it is capable of becoming universal. The inward experience answers to an objective revelation, and 'the Christian has nothing to fear from the most stringent examination of his sacred records. In his own experience he discovers Christ to be the Truth.'

In his essay on 'The Christian Faith and the Tendencies of Modern Thought,' Dr. Maldwyn Hughes begins with Evolution, and gives a bird's-eye view of the positions taken by modern science and philosophy, with special reference to Bergson and Eucken. He shows where they fail to reach the Christian standard, and by these very limitations remind us that 'the intellect is of itself insufficient for the apprehension of reality, and that the pathway to reality lies through spiritual action and experience.'

The last essay on 'Evangelism and Scholarship' is from the pen of one who happily combines them. Mr. Wiseman looks upon the evangelist as a witness to fact. He at least cannot object to full criticism. In certain directions research has strengthened the evangelist's position. We have learned to trace in the Old Testament a growth in the knowledge of God, in moral perception, in moral ideal. The evangelist is grateful to the scholar for showing him the proper standpoint from which to regard the scripture. He listens to new theories, but he tests them, and is on his guard against 'the findings of a school which comes to the study of the gospel with a prepossession against the supernatural.' He will assimilate the results of the best and wisest scholarship, but will present the truth 'constructively and

positively in such a way that those who are accustomed to the principles of historical criticism will recognize the preacher's appreciation of their point of view, while the faith of the unlearned will be strengthened.'

We have allowed these essays to speak for themselves. They have been written to provide a secure foundation for those whose faith may have been disturbed by recent controversies, and they will do much to fulfil their purpose. No one indeed can read them without a firm persuasion that the best Methodist thought and scholarship are being wisely used to meet the needs of the time. Theology is alive to-day in a way that it has never been alive before. It has become the most fascinating of studies, and if new thought can be woven into the web without impairing it we may yet live to see a hallowing of character and a deepening of the faith and life of the Church which will make it mighty to win the whole world for Christ.

That work is going on in all quarters, and it is instructive to compare the Methodist volume of essays with the volume issued by the 'seven Oxford men,' or with the three masterly studies named at the head of this article. The Rev. Maurice Jones, who is a Chaplain to the Forces at Gosport, attempts 'A Survey of recent Christological and Historical Criticism of the New Testament.' It is in some sense an Introduction to the New Testament, which gathers into a small compass the findings of the highest scholarship. He calls attention to the fact that religion itself has become the centre of interest rather than the documents, texts, and manuscripts in which its doctrines and history lie embedded. 'Every New Testament document, with the possible exception of the Fourth Gospel and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, may be placed well within the first century.' If Harnack's latest conclusions are accepted the Synoptic Gospels may well have been written before 65 A.D. The Lucan authorship and high historical value of the Acts have been firmly established by the labours of Harnack and Sir William Ram-

say. Mr. Jones gives a brief epitome of the teaching of the chief members of the Liberal Protestant School, and has chapters on 'The Christ of Eschatology,' 'St. Paul and the Mystery Religions,' 'The Language of the New Testament,' and 'Studies of the Books of the New Testament in the Light of Recent Research.' As to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel his bias is on the side of St. John. That remains for him an open question, 'yet it seems almost impossible to conceive that the writer of a book of the unique character and sublimity of this Gospel could have produced such a book and then entirely disappeared from history, as he must have done if the theory of the modern critic is accepted.'

Another significant volume, by Dr. Cobb, Rector of St. Ethelburga's, in the city of London, attempts to state 'the meaning of the Apostles' Creed from a point of view which modern thought has made to be that of the ordinarily well-instructed Christian.' Dr. Cobb holds that 'what thought loses in concreteness by the abandonment of the miraculous as capricious it will be found to regain in a more comprehensive and more invulnerable theology founded on Mysticism.' He claims the right as a practical mystic to live his life and to interpret the Creeds for himself. The mystic 'will not be concerned to affirm, neither will he be concerned to deny, the historical accuracy of the stories of the Virgin birth, of the Crucifixion, Resurrection, or Ascension, for in so far as these emerge on the plane of history they submit themselves to the ordinary laws of historical criticism, and fall under the jurisdiction of the critical expert.' This aloofness from history is not wholesome, and it may easily be that such mysticism, as Wesley said, might stab Christianity in the vitals. Dr. Cobb examines each article in succession to see what meaning the mystic will put upon it to-day. There are many rich and beautiful things in the volume, but it leaves us with an uneasy feeling that the mystical element is obscuring

the historical and leading into somewhat visionary regions where we hesitate to follow.

The Professor of Philosophy in McMaster University, Toronto, seeks to show that 'modern as compared with ancient thought affords a superior constructive basis for Christian faith, making it possible to form a theology that shall effectively promote present religious life.' Dr. Ten Broeke surveys the chief movements in speculative thought preparatory to the rise of Christian theology and traces the general course of its development to the time of the Reformation. He devotes much space to the teaching of Kant, Hegel, Schleiermacher and Ritschl, and argues that the 'present basis of theology formed by modern thought requires a fresh statement of the Christian faith if theology is to appeal successfully to the age in which we live.' In a closing chapter on 'The Scope and Method of Theology,' Dr. Ten Broeke says that Christian theology 'assumes that the needs of life find their satisfaction in Jesus. Its purpose is to form a view of the significance of the life and work of Jesus in relation to our needs which shall meet the practical standard of being the most satisfying to mind and heart, of versifying itself in our entire experience, and of opening the way to a clearer vision of God.' This sums up the spirit and aim of the writers who have joined Dr. Davison in the production of the most suggestive and reassuring volume to which we have drawn attention in this article. We owe them a large debt. There may be points which some would prefer to state a little differently, but a book so candid, yet so loyal to the essentials of the Christian faith must commend itself to all thinkers and show every cultivated and devout reader that Methodism does not lack guides who are fearless as Wesley himself in facing the problems of life and thought, and whose aim is to render the unchanging truth of the Gospel 'in terms of the changing vocabulary and changing habits of thought that mark every new century and epoch.'

THE EDITOR.



## Notes and Discussions

### PERSIA'S PRECARIOUS POSITION

WHEN, on July 21, the young Shah of Persia is crowned and the rule of the regent comes to an end, his Majesty will assume charge of a government whose affairs are in a precarious plight. The State treasury is empty. The revenue does not meet the expenditure incurred by the Administration, and European bankers are chary of lending money to the country. Internal affairs are troubled. Raids and lawlessness are the order of the day. The military and *gendarmerie* are more or less out of the hands of the authorities. From the exterior the menace of attack from the deposed Shah still threatens the Administration. Even more threatening is the arm of Russia, reaching farther and farther south, secured in its aggressive movement by the Anglo-Russian Convention, which restrains Great Britain from checking the Slav's downward movement. In such circumstances, uneasy surely will lie the head upon which the Persian crown is soon to be set.

For centuries this ancient nation, which has produced such famous poets as Sadi and Hafiz, and which has evolved such systems of ethics as the Zend Avesta and Sufism, has been in a condition of hopeless inanity. Its civilization has been moribund. Its literature and arts have languished. Its industries and agriculture have declined. Towards the middle of the last decade, however, Persia gave signs that its vitality had not perished once for all, but that it was there, awaiting an electric shock to galvanize it into activity. That electric shock was provided by the victories of the Japanese on the Manchurian battlefields and in the Tsushima Straits, and almost over-night its political institutions underwent a complete but bloodless revolution.

The story of this dramatic transformation is easily told : Towards the close of 1905, when the din of the Japanese cannon was still ringing in the air, and the smoke was still curling from the mouths of the guns, the revulsion of Persians against despotism expressed itself in an open riot in Teheran, the capital of the Shah's domains. This rebellion was precipitated by the intellectuals (*ulema*), mostly middle-class men, who, tired of the corruption of princeling-officials, sought to cast off their shackles. It is claimed that these intellectuals had been stirred up by secret agents of Japan, which, it is said, longed to see the Persian Liberals in power so that they might put an end to Russian aggression in Persia, and, as far as possible, weaken the Czar's Government, whose policy in the Far East imperilled



Nippon's existence and militated against Japan's ambitions to be the greatest power in Asia.

Mozaffer-ud-din, the then ruling Shah, instead of being angered by the uprising and seeking to quell it, favoured the movement. His secret reason for this apparently strange conduct has been declared to have been a desire to stop Russian aggression, which, he felt, and felt rightly, could be checked only by putting down official corruption and allying the intellectual leaders with the Government. That, indeed, was the psychological time to end Russian invasion, because of the defeats that the Slav had suffered at the hands of Japan. Thus did the Russo-Japanese conflict instigate a movement for Persia's political liberation, and thus did it impel the reigning Shah to countenance it.

In January, 1906, Mozaffer-ud-din conceded the creation of a bi-cameral Parliament (*Majlis*), to be composed of princes of the blood royal, high officials of the Government, leading clergymen, and business men. The Upper House, or Senate, was to consist of 60 members, one-half of them to be elected by the people, and this body was to control the revenues of the land, regulate commerce, and initiate and manage public works and railroad building. A popularly elected Lower House was to be entrusted with the work of enacting legislation. The essential provision of the establishment of this assembly was that the Ruler could not dissolve it without first obtaining the consent of the Ministers or Parliament, and two-thirds majority of the Senate.

The spirit in which these concessions were made was shown by a letter that Shah Mozaffer-ud-din wrote about the time of his death, which occurred soon after the grant was made:—'My dear son, my end is near, and although to-day on the throne, to-morrow my place will be in the grave. The government will then be remitted to you, my son! You must know, the empire exists for subjects. If the subjects are happy, the empire will be happy too, and if the subjects are unhappy, the empire, too, will be unhappy.

'The Persians, being a clever and gifted race, have awakened by themselves from sleep, they have become aware of their rights and have begun to destroy the fortress of absolutism. They have shown that they know the value of life. The Persians are much too fond of their country, and no power is able to extinguish the fire of real patriotism.

'If life would have been accorded to me I would have readily worked with this people for the progress of the nation. But, alas! Death has arrived. I beseech thee, my son, beware of being absolutistic, and be merciful to this people.'

The dying Shah displayed the same wisdom in the last words he addressed to his subjects: 'Dear and respected nation! You are the offspring of the great and mighty Sassanides, and you know that these your ancestors were highly civilized, learned, and valorous. Follow their example, do away with fear and weak-heartedness, and show to the world that you will live, and that you are ready for the

struggle. Be intrepid like men, and do not cringe before princes. These are my last words to you !'

Mohammed Ali succeeded his dead father, Mozaffer-ud-din, in the beginning of 1907. He was well acquainted with the ins and outs of European and Asiatic politics. He was an ardent motorist and hunter, and had passed through all of the military grades. However, at heart he was a reactionary, and strongly disapproved of the constitutional concessions of his father. But he realized that open hostility to the newly-created Parliament at the very beginning of his reign was as much as his life was worth, and he submitted to the inevitable with as much grace as he could command, and signed the constitution in October, 1907, after a delay stretching over several months. A month later he took the following oath :—

'I, the most humble servant, swear here in the presence of the Almighty Ruler of the world, with all my soul and heart, upon the Koran that, by God and with the help of God, I am ready to acknowledge Persia as a constitutional country, and that the existence and progress of Persia can only be guaranteed by a constitutional government. It is for this reason that I deem it my sacred and patriotic duty to support the Constitution with words and deeds, and with all my power and strength. I do so knowing that the cessation of disorder, the establishment of the moral and material well-being of the people, and the equality of all men, belong to the first commands and duties of our Moslem sacred law, and this order can be only effected through the Constitution. I swear upon the great name of God to remain faithful to the said things, and I charge myself to assist with all my power the effectuation of these wishes. Should I commit perjury, then God and His Prophet should curse me !'

In ordinary circumstances such an oath taken by a Moslem would have been considered to be absolutely inviolable. But Mohammed Ali's delay in signing the constitution and taking the oath, had made his subjects suspicious of his reactionary tendencies, and they did not believe he had subscribed to the covenant in all sincerity. The general feeling prevailed that the ruler would take the first favourable opportunity to recant his vow and seek to undermine the Parliament.

Later developments proved that the suspicions of the progressive leaders had been well founded. In July, 1908, only seven months later, the Shah commanded the Assembly to hand over to him a number of its members who had evinced a determination to guard the liberties of their constituents. The Assembly refused to comply with this arrogant demand. Instead, it drew up a long indictment of the monarchical government of the country. It pointed out that, immediately before the Parliament was organized, the land was in a state practically amounting to chaos. Life was insecure, and property was arbitrarily taxed. Cultivators in some

parts of the land had been deprived of the means of irrigation in order to compel them to pay the extortionate taxes demanded, and at least in one province children had been sold as slaves in order to pay their parents' taxes. Parliament, it was recounted, had sought to introduce a new régime. It had stubbornly fought the policy of allowing Persia to become indebted to foreign Shylocks, and established a National Bank for the purpose of issuing an internal loan. Although it was at the very commencement of its career, and had hardly started its work of reorganizing the Government, the Parliament defied the Shah, and warned him, in no measured terms, not to dare to attempt to put stumbling-blocks in the path of progress on which Persia had set out. This manuscript proved to be the proverbial last straw that breaks the camel's back. Mohammed Ali threw diplomacy to the four winds and showed himself in his true colours as an enemy of popular government. He ordered his artillery to surround the rebellious Assembly. The Parliament buildings were bombarded and completely demolished.

During its brief career, the Persian Parliament had succeeded in carrying out a number of reforms. Its chief accomplishment was to prevent the floating of a fresh foreign loan, the proceeds of which would have been diverted from legitimate channels, and used only to cater to the pleasures and passions of the court. It paved the way for national solvency by diminishing the expenditure of the Government by about £600,000, and increasing the revenue by £200,000. Up till then, annually there had been a deficit of over £500,000, the annual income amounting to a little over £1,500,000 while the expenditure was £2,000,000. The revenue had been considered the personal property of the Ruler, to spend as he saw fit. Under the new régime, a definite sum (£120,000 per annum) was set aside for the Shah's Civil List.

Another great reform was to place all Persian subjects on an equal footing, without reference to their race and creed; and a representative of the Zoroastrian community (for centuries hated and tyrannized by the Moslem rulers), was made a member of the *Majlis*. A third reform consisted of the establishment of Provincial Councils in all the provinces to supervise the collection of taxes and control the actions of the local governors; and of Municipal Councils in all the cities. The organization of these bodies greatly improved the public services and ameliorated evil conditions in many of the localities over which they exercised control.

The 'Young Persians' were not satisfied with these measures. They realized that the mere alteration of the form of the old régime would not suffice, but that a new type of administrators must be appointed—upright, conscientious, zealous, patriotic men of high character and proved ability. It was hard to find men in Persia who filled all these requirements, and therefore they decided to take into the Persian services European instructors to teach them how to organize and develop the resources of their country. It was stipulated, however, that such teachers were to bind themselves

to act in conformity with the Persian constitution and laws. It was further decided to send promising young men to Europe to study the various arts and sciences in which Persia was deficient. These students, it was expected, would, on their return from abroad, devote their energy and talents to the uplift of their land.

All this activity came to an abrupt end, for it did not suit the purposes of the new Shah, Mohammed Ali, to have a popular Assembly sitting over him, sanctioning money to pay his bills and demurring at finding the resources to keep him rioting in barbaric luxury. Had it not been to the advantage of Russia to kill the Liberal movement in Persia, Mohammed Ali would more than likely not have permitted his hatred to make him take strong action against the *Majlis*. But good government in Iran meant that the Slav could not satisfy his land-hunger, and therefore Mohammed Ali was encouraged, by the enemies of his country, to strike a blow to the Parliament. Therefore, as we have seen, not long after he had become the ruler, Mohammed Ali abolished the Assembly he had vowed to protect.

Knowing, as the Shah did, that public opinion would be antagonistic to him on account of his having broken his solemn oath, he sought to appease the critics by taking refuge behind the cloak of religion, laying the blame for the whole affair on Mohammedanism—the dominant religion in Persia. In December, 1908, he unblushingly proclaimed:

'We are prepared to redeem our promise and convoke a Parliament, but we learn from the assembled representatives of the people that they do not want a constitution. The clergy and ecclesiastics have recognized that the establishment of a Parliament would conflict with the laws of Islam, and we have decided that for the future under no pretext shall a Parliament be established.'

This was going too far. It added insult to injury. It was palpably untrue. It was gross misrepresentation to say that the people's representatives did not wish a constitution at the very time when they were insistently clamouring for it. It was equally false to say that Islam, which was founded on the principle of the universal brotherhood of man, was opposed to the movement for a Liberal administration, especially in view of the fact that the propaganda for popular government had been largely hatched in the Moslem mosques under the leadership of Mussulman priests. The staunchest friends of the movement for democratic institutions were to be found amongst the Islamic clergy.

Mohammed Ali's action made the people rise against him, and finally, on July 17, 1909, he was driven out of the country, and his little son, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, who was born on January 20, 1898, and was therefore not then twelve years old, was proclaimed his successor. Mohammed Ali, as was natural in the circumstances, fled to Russia, wherefrom he has made more than one unsuccessful attempt to regain his throne. But though the arch-enemy of the Parliament has not regained his power, and though the Parliament has been again convoked, yet the affairs of Persia have not righted themselves.

Some seek to fasten the blame for this failure upon the Persians, who, it is declared, have no capacity for self-government. Another explanation offered for the sad condition prevailing in Iran is that Russia's machinations make stable administration impossible. Independent opinion inclines to the latter explanation.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

### THE IDEA OF GOD IN ISRAEL AND BABYLON

DR. NOWACK, of Strassburg, an eminent representative of Old Testament learning, calls marked attention in the *Theol. Rundschau* for January to a new work by Prof. Hehn on the above subject, of which he gives a clear and full analysis. We know the efforts made to derive the creation-story in Genesis from Babylonian sources. But while there is similarity in outward details, as we might expect, the contrast in moral tone and in the supreme place assigned to the Creator is the greatest possible. There is far closer affinity between Babylon on the one hand, and Arabia, Phœnicia, Canaan, Syria on the other. The still more vital contrast between the idea of God in Babylon and in the Bible is the subject of Dr. Hehn's work. While Dr. Nowack dissents from Dr. Hehn on some points, he commends in unstinted terms the main conclusions at which he arrives. 'The significance of his work,' he says, 'is that here by an expert, whose competence no one can question, on the ground of careful sifting of the entire material, the thoughtless assertion that Israelite monotheism grew up under the influence of Babylonian monotheism, that the Israelite religion was *essentially* influenced by Assyria and Babylon, is once for all set aside.' There is no desire to magnify the defects of ethnic religions. Their elaborate structure and wealth of detail are impressive signs of the strength of the religious instinct in man. But the divergence between such a religion as that of Babylon in the conception of God is too striking to be passed over. We instance some points in the comparison.

As to the fundamental lines of thought, the Babylonian deities are personifications of the phenomena of nature, not in sharply defined personality, but in vague, uncertain creations of imagination, as changeful and shifting as the phenomena themselves. Sun, moon, and stars take the first place, the Moon-god, Sin, being unusually prominent. When at a later time human personality became the model of the divine, sex-difference entered along with human passion, jealousy and hate on a large scale. A great source of confusion was that different cities and states worshipped the same deities under different names. Polytheism was ingrained in the system. The only approach to monotheism was the conception of a universal deity who reigned over the pantheon, like Jupiter or Zeus or Brahma. The name for the pantheon was 'the Seven Gods,' and this sevenfold deity inhered in the essence of the religion. The movement towards unity never went beyond this. We may note that the



polytheism of Babylon was so gigantic that the exile of Israel there killed the idolatrous tendencies which had formerly showed themselves in Israel. In Babylon the question of one God alone never arose. The existence of an Ur-Semitic deity, El, in Babylon has been alleged as the source of later polytheism; but the inscriptions give no hint of such an idea. El was the name of a general deity inferred from the many gods before.

In Israel the personifications of nature as denoting the God of Israel are absent. From the first, from Abraham and from the time of the deliverance from Egypt, God is a Person dealing with persons, individually and in national relations. This state of things is expressed with unmistakable distinctness. An essential attribute of God is transcendence above nature; confusion between the one and the other is impossible. 'The transcendence is a necessary correlative of the unity.' The distinction between the artist and his work is less definite than that between the Creator and creation. All material representation of the divine in images is rigidly forbidden in order to make assurance doubly sure. The association in Greece between art and idolatry cannot be forgotten. The distinction is as plain in Gen. i. as in Psalm civ. God was the centre of both the individual and the national life of Israel. Take Him away, and the life falls to pieces. 'The Israelite view of the world has Yahweh for its centre, and so is monotheistic. The concentration on the one point, Yahweh, gave the Israelite religion its peculiar stamp. This implies that to worship other gods is to violate the covenant between God and Israel, a covenant involving reciprocal obligations.' Israel also owes the ethical spirit of its monotheism to Jehovah, who in the highest sense is the representative of law and righteousness. 'The Babylonian religion knows certain moral duties, but the peculiarity of the Israelite religion is that these duties occupy the centre. The thought animating the prophets is that the sin of the nation works out in misfortune and punishment. Sin carries its punishment in itself, and so morality and destiny appear as an inner unity.' Righteousness as the law of the divine nature has unlimited validity, and so national passes into universal monotheism.

Humanly speaking, the explanation of the rise of Israel's religion was the teaching of the prophets. We may regard them as men of religious genius. But the only sufficient explanation of 'genius,' which had such effects, is divine inspiration. 'Babylon had priests and astrologers, but no prophets,' no men of unique moral insight. What was true of Babylon was true of other peoples; the difference is one of degree. In point of philosophy and abstract thought, no one would mention Israel beside India or Egypt, Greece or Rome. If we are not to explain the difference by divine inspiration, there is no explanation. Genius of such a kind needs to be explained. The leader among the prophets is Moses. To say that his leadership is a necessity of thought is only another way of saying that the story of his life and work reads naturally, that it lights up Israel's history as Socrates and Cæsar are the key to unlock other histories. 'The



Israelite religion is not the result of monotheistic speculation, but a monotheism springing directly from historical circumstances: only Yahweh has shown Himself to be mighty as God to the people, therefore is He Israel's God. The power of faith in this Yahweh in those early days is only made intelligible by the appearance of a mighty religious personality, from whom the inspiration took its beginning. He combined the leading ideas of His religious system in the Decalogue.'

JOHN S. BANKS.

### THE SUB-CONSCIOUS AND SUBLIMINAL SELF

READERS of current literature dealing with the psychology of religion frequently meet with references to 'the sub-conscious and subliminal self' as factors whose effects must be taken into serious account. These terms are quite recent importations into psychological phraseology. Whether they are of any value as standing for hitherto nameless things, or as improvements on previous nomenclature, remains to be seen; but our present impression is that they stand for nothing which we can well define or which is not already known by as expressive names.

Consciousness in man is the state in which he knows or feels whatever at the moment enters into his experience. The term by its very structure postulates a state of knowledge—knowledge of thoughts, volitions and sensations arising in and belonging to a permanent personality. The 'con' may express the simultaneous knowledge of self and something which is not self but a modification of the same. What then is to be understood by the 'sub-conscious'? It is something which lies beneath our own awareness of ourselves, a sphere of ignorance within ourselves, the abyss of our own unfathomed nature. Our conscious life is related to only a mere fraction of our central nervous system; for our Maker has carefully avoided giving us any consciousness, or scarcely any, of the working of the mechanical or vital sections of our nature. Such a consciousness would be a perpetual perturbation of the mind which would make real efficiency impossible and life intolerable. Our personalities are meant to be aware only of themselves in the mentalities which come and go in the process of living out our life. We can imagine much of which we have no actual knowledge. Doubtless there are energies at work within us of which we are hardly conscious, such as the impelling inspirations that push us up into a maturer experience and a larger personality, corresponding somewhat to the vital forces which give increase of stature and strength to the bodily form. Is there anything more transpiring in that sub-conscious sphere? Two suggestions have been made and fall to be considered. The first is as to the possibilities of our being unconsciously influenced by the faculty of memory in which our whole past life seems to be recorded, but whose laws of revival and oblivion are so much beyond our control. Dr. Ward suggests, and Dr. Stout agrees, that there may be something like a mist

or atmosphere constantly arising out of the stores of memory, affecting all our experience without taking definite form in consciousness. Such an emanation can have only an infinitesimal effect on our experience; and at any rate can influence conduct to a very small extent. It may safely be taken for granted that our past history will unconsciously as well as consciously influence our future. There is nothing mysterious here, nothing to offend our self-respect, since we are influenced from a sphere for which we are largely responsible.

The second suggestion is of a somewhat threatening nature, and must be handled with due circumspection. Can other personalities without physical contact, and without our observation, obtrude their thoughts and wills into our conscious life? The term 'subliminal self' seems to give some encouragement to such a question. Under the local and architectural term 'threshold,' it suggests that our self stretches out or downwards into unknown regions of which consciousness and even reason tell us nothing. Whether this self is over or under the self we know, we cannot deny that we have a substantive personality which touches on regions beyond the range of our subjective personality. A man is more than his consciousness, as the mirror is more than the images that come and go upon its face. Nor is our normal consciousness to be taken as the limit of what may come into our consciousness at any future time. There may very well lie beyond its normal range an actual related world which may some day come into its apprehension, just as there is an actual physical world which cannot at present appeal, because of its rates of vibration, to our senses of sight and hearing. A slight extension of those bodily organs would reveal to the man in the street an extended material universe such as is known to the physicist by means of his scientific instruments, and thus his consciousness might be said to be enlarged. If there could be an extension of mental faculty or an awakening of superior senses in our personality there would be a corresponding revelation of properties and powers in the universe at present unconceived of by the normal man. There would be at the same time the discovery of a larger self which had existed in touch with spheres of being which gave no intimation of their existence to the normal consciousness.

That there are such possibilities latent in human nature is coming rapidly into general recognition. There are authentic records of experiences that lie outside the ordinary range of mind. These stretch over so long a time, occur over so large a geographical area, in persons of such divers temperament and education, and are so much alike as described by independent witnesses, that it is hardly possible to resist the proofs of their reality. The phenomena of dreams and trances suggest their existence; hypnotism, clairvoyance, and clair-audience prove them. Psychologists like Max Dessoir and Pierre Janet go the length of suggesting that personality is a unit merely to our consciousness, and really consists of at least two clearly distinguishable personalities, each held together by its own chain of memories. Maeterlinck is caught by this fancy, and makes

'the other superior to the one we know.' Then he asks with reference to the after-death state 'how the ego we know, and whose destiny alone concerns us, recognizes that superior being whom it has never known. What will it do in the presence of the stranger?' (*Death*, p. 489.) This Doppel-Ich would certainly prove to be a serious inconvenience. Happily, as a duplicate or ruptured personality it is as great an impossibility as Maurice Hewlett's suggestion, made with apparent sincerity, that the subliminal self is 'a fairy prisoner occasionally on parole.' (*The Lore of Proserpine*, p. 14.) One or two persons have been found capable, under certain outside manipulations, of living in what is called 'a double consciousness.' In the normal state one continuous life is lived, and in the hypnotic state another succession of orderly experiences can be enjoyed. This, however, is no proof of two personalities, separated by a chasm, or two different consciousnesses in one bodily form, but simply a case in which consciousness is shunted from one strand of memory into connexion with another, as the gramophone operator can give us an hour in a music-hall and immediately after an hour at church. It is not personality that is duplicated or a new consciousness discovered, but one and the same personality switched into contact with two different planes of experience.

Psychical Research societies introduce us to additional facts, which not only justify those who believe in a subliminal self, but also prove that man is much more complex in his nature than he seems. There is a great consensus of evidence which suggests that we are double-natured, with duplicated faculties, related to two differentiated planes of being, and capable of functioning on either under favouring conditions. With the existence of this subtler nature it becomes a legitimate supposition that mind may communicate with mind without the physical intermediaries on which we are usually dependent. It is a favourite expedient of novelists, as in the story of *Jane Eyre*, and many later instances, and it is widely held to be a common gift of the trained adepts of India. In modern biographies one comes now and again upon an instance—the latest we have met in the life of August Strindberg, the Swedish dramatist. The fact that most of us would utterly fail to make an impression upon a distant mind, however strongly we willed to accomplish such a conquest, does not justify us in denying the occasional existence of the power. None of us would say that it is unreasonable to pray that some one in whom we are interested might be influenced from the unseen world to some good effect. Many such prayers have been answered in a most striking manner. The so-called subliminal self seems to have been got at on the sub-conscious side, where spirit touches spirit, and without the person influenced having the slightest suspicion of any extraneous touch. New thoughts have entered the mind, fresh impulses been stirred, and the trend of the whole life changed. Such a result seems to be explained in a measure by the curious fact that a skilful hypnotist by simple suggestion can work moral changes upon his subjects. The victim of the morphia or

alcoholic craze, the unlawful lover, the kleptomaniac and other faulty souls can be radically cured by apparently a spoken word. If there be a spirit world inhabited by intelligent personalities, they may be able to exercise a similar and even more potent influence on the subliminal self, for either good or evil results. Where such invasions may end it is impossible to say. Modern cases have occurred like some recorded in the Gospels, where the personality has been taken command of by an inrush of power from the unseen, and mastered even physically for the time. These abnormal experiences are not to be explained by epilepsy, lunacy, or any cause originating on the material plane. Only the recognition of forces acting on the subliminal self gives us a satisfactory explanation. We may call this invasion an 'uprush from the sub-conscious,' but we predicate a reasonable explanation only when we take our stand with our Lord and His apostles, and see in all such cases the influx of a personal power which in some cases produces all manner of evils and in others quickens all the faculties and proclivities of the affected personality into unwonted excellence. Most probably we are all subject to such influences while kept ignorant both of the fact and their particular source. The unseen eternal world in which we must believe is not shut off by impenetrable walls from this. Little as we know what may be our near environment in the sub-conscious world, we need not conclude that we are victimized by any other personality, good or evil. Probably we are not ruled in any case so much by extraneous influences as by our own affinities. We go as our sails are set rather than in the direction the wind may blow. None of us are the sport of overbearing powers, though we are in close association with a world which wields a potent influence upon our lives. It lies with us to say how strong or weak, how good or how evil the result shall be.

This idea of a subliminal self has been utilized by Dr. Sanday in explanation of the unique personality of Jesus Christ. The personal Deity was organically united to the human, and occasionally imbued the human with His powers. There is much that is plausible in the theory, but it involves a bi-personal explanation which on the best grounds has been condemned as untenable. It not only makes a big split in our Lord's personality, but big jerks in His experience. It puts God into the supernatural actions of His life and excludes Him from the normal; it makes Jesus alternately God and man, at times too much and at times too little. It approaches a solution if we can lower Jesus to the status of a God-inspired man, but Christendom is by no means prepared for this disastrous downcome.

In conclusion, it must be admitted that the suggestion of a subliminal self is a quite legitimate one, though it is nothing more than a new name for a universal fact. Its virtue as a title lies in this, that it so confidently asserts that we are larger than we know, and obtrude into a sphere of being where we may both act and be acted upon without any consciousness of the fact. This much is undeniable. Every self-observant person has discovered that we are visited by influences from unknown shores whose general tendency is to awake

in us a sense of the mysterious and divine. We are prompted to ask, as it were beneath our breath, if such inward motions do not come at times from the depth beneath. Certainly, religion is largely the outgrowth of the quickening breath of vital forces descending from the higher spheres. Mind moves in a universal medium; souls meet and mingle. God lives and moves in all.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

### PREHISTORIC MAN IN BRITAIN AND IN WESTERN EUROPE<sup>1</sup>

New evidence on the antiquity and primitive condition of man accumulates very rapidly. It is no use now to have an acquaintance with English discoveries *alone*, and the student who would have a real knowledge of these problems must make himself master of the progress of prehistoric archaeology in foreign lands, otherwise he will be hopelessly behind the times, and will find out to his cost that his opinions are entirely out of date. Hence it is that the two books noticed are particularly valuable.

The work of Dr. Duckworth deals only with the Palaeolithic or older Stone Age, and does not descend beyond the Aurignacian division of that period. The examination, however, of those human remains which the author has selected for discussion is very elaborate, and the bones, teeth, and skulls of each human relic are described with great care, and the different opinions concerning them are fully given. The student must prepare for some difficult reading, since much preliminary knowledge of prehistoric archaeology and anthropology will be required, and the discussion of conflicting theories will need a thorough knowledge of various hypotheses. It is extremely perplexing to weigh the evidence for the many divergent opinions with which the condition of prehistoric man is surrounded.

Dr. Duckworth's first chapter deals with the precursors of Palaeolithic man, and is devoted to an elaborate description of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* and the Heidelberg jaw. A perfect flood of controversy has gathered around these remains, and almost every statement made about them is disputed, so that the student is almost in despair as to what may be the truth. As to the relics of *Pithecanthropus Erectus* (which comprise a leg bone, three teeth, a jaw, and part of a skull), everything is disputed. Some affirm that the remains—which were found in Java in 1891 and 1892—belong to a creature intermediate between man and the apes. This, however, is vehemently denied. The geological age of the remains is disputed, and the relics are declared not to belong all to the same individual. They are said now to be truly human, and, as a genuine human tooth of even *greater antiquity* has been lately discovered, this seems to be

<sup>1</sup> 1. *Prehistoric Britain*. By Robert Munro, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.E., M.D. (Home University Library); 2. *Prehistoric Man*. By W. L. H. Duckworth, M.A., M.D., Sc.D. (Cambridge Manuals.)



the more probable opinion. The Heidelberg (or Mauer) jaw is described at length, but its teeth are truly human, and its exact geological position is a question of much controversy.

Dr. Duckworth's next chapter deals with the skulls and bones of Palaeolithic man which are found in the alluvial gravels and in the caverns, and he examines in succession more than a dozen of the remains of the oldest men in Britain and in Western Europe. The examination of these skeletons and remains is very elaborate and complete, which is what we should naturally expect from a Professor of Physical Anthropology. Some striking results follow from this summary. Men in the earliest ages frequently possessed skulls as large and brains as capacious as the civilized European of to-day. This is specially the case with the Palaeolithic skulls of Galley Hill, Chancelade, Chappelle-aux-Saints, and Engis. Concerning the last of these skulls Professor Huxley said: 'It might have contained the brains of a philosopher.' Dr. Duckworth comes to a similar conclusion, and after giving a summary of the measurements of the various skulls of the oldest men says, 'It will suffice to remark that early Palaeolithic man was furnished with a very adequate quantity of brain material, whatever its quality may have been. In regard to the amount no symptom or sign of an inferior evolutionary *status* can be detected.' Even the Neanderthal skull, which was once thought to be ape-like, is now found to have contained a larger brain than was formerly imagined. It is perfectly certain that evolutionists can gain no advantage from the study of the skulls and bones of the earliest men. The third chapter describes the alluvial and cave-deposits, and speaks of the custom of burial in caverns and of the religious rites connected with the interment of the dead in prehistoric times. Then follows a long section devoted to the classification of the animals and the human implements in the Palaeolithic period, which is illustrated with elaborate tables. The subject is most intricate, because all the various schemes of classification are full of difficulties, and are strongly opposed by contradictory evidence. The attempt of some theorists to divide the animals of the Palaeolithic era into a 'Northern group' and a 'Southern group' cannot be maintained, as all the animals are constantly found lying side by side in the same caverns and gravel beds. It is also attempted to classify the stone implements according to their form, making the rudest the earliest and the more finished the latest. This classification, however, is beset with difficulties, and may merely signify that some tribes were more skilful in fashioning stone implements than others who lived at the same time. All the elaborate schemes for correlating the different eras and phases of the Palaeolithic period are fully described by Dr. Duckworth, but the discussion is too complete to be explained at length here. In his last chapter he discusses *Human Evolution in the Light of Recent Discoveries*. The difficulties in deciding between so many prehistoric skeletons, some being of a high type, some of a low, and some intermediate, is fully recognized, and he concludes that 'The



impossibility of summing up in favour of one comprehensive scheme will be acknowledged.' An appendix gives an account of the skeletons of La Quina and Ipswich, and a diagram is added showing the position of the portions of the latter skeleton, from a drawing prepared by Professor Keith. References to the literature on the subject, and an excellent index, add to the value of Dr. Duckworth's book, which also contains a number of tables, diagrams, and illustrations.

Dr. Munro's work takes a much wider range. It not merely describes the relics of the Palaeolithic era, but it also notices at considerable length the arts, habits, customs, and weapons which prevailed and were used in the Neolithic, the Bronze, and the Iron ages, so that a greater portion of it may be considered as a continuation of Dr. Duckworth's book. The work commences with a general outline of the physical geography of Western Europe in the Palaeolithic age, and during the Glacial period. Britain was then united to France and to Denmark, and Ireland was also joined to the western shores of Wales and England. A short account is given of the discoveries of flint implements, and then the various discoveries of bones and skulls of the Palaeolithic age are described in order, and are figured by excellent illustrations. The Piltown skull found in Sussex in 1912 is figured. Its age is stated to be great, but its geological position is uncertain. It has a high and modern forehead, and a good cranial capacity, but its exact type and antiquity are still in doubt. Dr. Munro passes in review the different types of Palaeolithic man. Some of these—in the very *oldest* times—were high, cultured, and intellectual, while others were degraded and debased. No ascending series, however, from the lowest to the highest, in the course of time, is revealed by geological investigations. Undoubtedly in the earliest times of the Palaeolithic period, the most ancient men that science has revealed to us possessed a religion. This is shown by the care displayed in the burial of the dead, and by interring with the corpse weapons and utensils to be used in another world. There was in fact in those prehistoric times a regular funeral ritual. One of the chapters in a book by M. Cartailhac, a leading French archaeologist, is entirely devoted to the ritual of the dead in Palaeolithic times. Evidence shows that they believed in the immortality of the soul, and we know that along with this faith the belief of future rewards and punishments is always held. Dr. Munro gives an interesting account of the strange paintings on the walls of some of the caves in Spain and Southern France, which have been held by some to prove that Palaeolithic man painted these wonderful paintings, which strikingly resemble the painted caves of the Bushmen in Southern Africa. The paintings, however, may be of Neolithic age, as their precise date is uncertain, but they are doubtless of considerable antiquity. They have been thought to have a religious significance, and if this be correct, it is another proof of the high intellectual character of primitive man. A long account of the flint tools and weapons is given, but the author is justly sceptical as to the human origin of the Eoliths, as the rudest

and oldest of the flint 'weapons' are called. Then follows a charming description of the dawn of the Neolithic or Later Stone period, and the changes in the physical condition of Western Europe as well as the alteration in the fauna which took place at this time. The rude stone monuments of the Neolithic period, the menhirs, cromlechs, dolmens, and alignments of the era, are admirably described. The hill forts and castles of stone and of earth receive a lengthy notice; and due prominence is given to Stonehenge, Avebury, and the wonderful prehistoric forts and underground dwellings of Scotland and Cornwall. The Bronze and Iron ages are also well described by Dr. Munro. He thinks that bronze was originally invented in Egypt, but the European nations soon made their own bronze implements. He does not say from what region the *tin* used in the manufacture of bronze was obtained, nor does he enter into the vexed question of the Phœnician trade with Cornwall, and with the position of the Cassiterides. The latter portion of the work is devoted to British Ethnology, and to the succession of races Iberian, Gaelic, Brythonic, and Teutonic, which have spread over Great Britain. The author maintains that anthropologically there was no gap between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, but we must add that the *sudden* and *complete* disappearance of the great beasts of the First Stone age, and the remarkable change in the fauna between the close of the Palaeolithic era and the dawn of the Neolithic period, constitutes a gap which has never been bridged over. Dr. Munro's volume is most valuable and instructive, and should be read along with Dr. Duckworth's by every student of prehistoric archaeology.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

## Recent Literature

### THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

*Extra-Biblical Sources for Hebrew and Jewish History.*

By Rev. S. A. Mercer, Ph.D., Chicago. (Longmans. 6s. net.)

SUCH a book as this has for some time been needed. The careful student of the Old Testament desires to have within his reach copies of inscriptions, historical documents and other original sources, which aid in its elucidation. The number of these has considerably increased of late, and for most readers the original texts have to be sought in many volumes that are not easily accessible. The difficulty lies in selection, and we think that on the whole Dr. Mercer has shown skill and judgement in this part of his work. He has collected and furnished translations of the original Cuneiform, Egyptian, Aramaic, Greek and Latin 'sources,' illustrating the history from the beginning of the Old Testament period down to the destruction of the Jewish nation under Hadrian. From Hammurabi, two thousand years before Christ and the Egyptian *stela* that sheds light on the Exodus, through the Tel-el-Amarna period, the Assyrian period with the inscriptions and chronicles that illustrate the time of the monarchy in Israel and Judah, down to the quotations from Josephus and Tacitus, Dr. Mercer has collected, and made easily accessible, historical material of the greatest interest and value. The Moabite Stone and the Elephantine Papyri are briefly but adequately described and their significance shown. Dr. Mercer's introductory notes are such as the ordinary student needs, and the appendices, maps, chronological tables and occasional illustrations furnish useful aids. We wish he could have found room for some additional quotations. The reference to Hammurabi is very brief, and a reference or two in a footnote on page 8 gives little idea of the significance of the Code in its bearing on Old Testament legislation. But only a few quotations from it could in any case have been given, and neither the Code nor the Inscriptions can strictly be reckoned among 'sources.' Controversy is necessarily excluded from a book of this kind. The reference, for example, to 'Isi-raal' in the *stela* of Menerptah is disputed, though there can be little question that it refers to Israelitish tribes more or less nomadic in Canaan, some of whom had settled in N.E. Egypt. But it is as a collection of material that Dr. Mercer's book is intended; the use to which it is put is quite another matter. Scholars form their own collections of sources, but all English-speaking students of the Old Testament must be grateful to Dr. Mercer for bringing within easy reach documents of the first import-

ance, translated from various languages, and covering a space of thousands of years, that in one fashion or another illustrate the strange and chequered history of God's ancient people Israel.

*Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After.* By Heinrich Weinel, D.D., and Alban G. Widgery, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d. net.)

The purpose of this elaborate work is 'not to discuss doctrinal problems as such, but to present the result of a historical study of Jesus, and in its light to survey the various movements of the century in their relation to Him.' Yet the doctrinal position assumed throughout, with little or no discussion, is that of the 'liberal' school of thought. Dr. Weinel, for example, regards the 'sacred dogmas' of the Trinity and the Incarnation as 'an insurmountable obstacle to all research,' and holds that by the English scholars of the Enlightenment these doctrines were shown to be 'in the main, ancient science and ancient views of the world.' It is needful to remember that in regard to the central question: Did Jesus hold that He was more than man? the judgement expressed is: 'we cannot answer the question with certainty.' This conclusion inevitably follows from such premisses as that 'we find the historical Jesus in the Synoptics alone,' and that 'we can truly speak of a free theology only when we seriously exclude miracles, as we do in our research in other spheres of history.'

Readers, however, whose Christology accounts, as Dr. Weinel's does not, for the origin of Christianity, may study this learned and brilliantly written volume to their profit. The knowledge of nineteenth-century literature is encyclopaedic; Drews and his forerunners in the theory of the Christ-myth are confronted with the fact of the historical Jesus, and His teaching is often expounded with true insight and great charm. The translator, Mr. Widgery, a former student at the University of Jena—where Dr. Weinel is Professor of Theology—has laid English readers under a special obligation by his excellent rendering. He has also revised the work and enlarged its scope by his own contributions, which treat of English, American, and French thinkers, and also of one Italian (Mazzini), and of the problems raised by them.

*The Present Relations of Science and Religion.* By Dr. T. G. Bonney, F.R.S. (R. Scott. 5s. net.)

It is difficult to speak too highly of this last work of Dr. Bonney, for it is not only accurate and up to date, as it could not but be from such a source, but most timely in its appearance and wise in its conclusions. The author has long been known as one of the ablest living geologists—he was the present writer's examiner in science at London University many years ago—and his work was recognised by his *confrères* in 1910 by his election to the chair of the British Association, than which no higher honour can be conferred

in the name of modern science. This volume deserves the careful perusal of every thoughtful reader, especially of every religious teacher and all such unbelievers as are open to conviction. That some are not is painfully manifest in Mr. J. McCabe's latest performance—an onslaught in his most cocksure style upon 'The religion of Sir Oliver Lodge,' which reminds one of Landseer's famous picture. Sir Oliver may well be left to take care of himself; but if it should happen that the reader of these pages has come across that or similar ebullitions to the effect that under the influence of modern science theism is hopelessly wrecked, the human soul shown to be nothing but the functioning of the phronema, and immortality dismissed for ever as but a sentimental fiction, &c., he would do well to ponder on what Dr. Bonney has here to say, as an accredited expert in science, on these themes. The seven chapters deal respectively with 'Recent advances in physical science; The position of biology; The ideas of religion and their developments; The probabilities of a revelation; The place and possibility of miracles; The credibility of Christianity; Representatives of Christianity and workers in science. His statements and positions are quite mild and moderate; yet it would be difficult to say which have most need to learn from him, some of the representatives of religion or of irreligion. The followers of Haeckel and Sir E. Ray Lankester, who will strongly disapprove, must be left to other occasions; but it may be well to note that the venerable author is still afraid that his conclusions will be in some respects 'more acceptable to my fellow workers in science than to the majority of my fellow clergy.' He remarks that he knows too well the fate of any 'teller of unwelcome truths and dispeller of pleasant illusions'; but he goes on to affirm—'my belief in the great Christian verities—I mean those embodied in the two great creeds of the Catholic Church—is stronger than ever it was, though I shrink from some of the attempts to formulate doctrines which are beyond human comprehension, and am convinced that in some branches of this Church, development, as it is called, is often more suggestive of atavism than of evolution.' Last though not least, it may be said that the book is written in such an easy style that it will prove as enjoyable as instructive to every reader possessed of ordinary intelligence.

*Vital Problems of Religion.* By the Rev. J. R. Cohu.  
(T. & T. Clark. 5s. net.)

In philosophy Mr. Cohu is an idealist; and his aim in this book is, as described by him, to show that 'Religion is Reason not aware of itself that it is reason.' One chapter exhibits the knowledge of God as revealed through the study of nature and of the human heart; and another explains the freedom of the will as due to the presence of a psychic energy, for which the cumbrous name of 'self-directivity' is adopted. Sin is defined as 'the pitting of man's self-will against God's good will,' and modes are pointed out in which God to His own



glory turns so vile a thing to salutary purposes. Personality, immortality, conscience are freshly and vigorously treated. In one place religion and science are apportioned their spheres, the one concerned with proximate explanations while the other pierces to the centre of the universe, and bows before its throne. In regard to theology, again, attention is given to the two elements in the great creeds, the one permanent and the other passing. Hence our right attitude towards them is represented as one of discrimination. The experiences expressed in the symbols are eternal, but the way of expression is in accordance with the changing intellectual atmosphere of the day. Repeated modification of the phraseology with unswerving loyalty to the facts and fundamental truths becomes thus the law of religion.

It will be seen that Mr. Cohu deals, as he professes to do, with current and vital problems of religion. How he succeeds is indicated in the introduction contributed by the Bishop of St. Asaph. The bishop describes the book as one of sustained interest, at once arresting and informing, and claims for it the three great qualities of 'sobriety, courage, and knowledge.' Such praise is not undeserved. The book is a genuine attempt to get at the underlying realities of religious experience, and throws light upon questions that are apt to be perplexing and urgent.

*The Philosophy of Religion.* By George Galloway, D.Phil., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s.)

It was originally intended that this volume in the International Theological Library should be undertaken by the late Dr. Flint. Owing to the illness which unhappily ended in the death of that fine scholar, the unattempted task passed into Dr. Galloway's hands; and it is a compliment to the memory of Dr. Flint, as well as to the work of Dr. Galloway, to say that the change has not lessened the value and merit of the book. In such an undertaking, much depends upon the choice of sound principles of division in the subject-matter; and we think that in this Dr. Galloway secures his first success. After a general introduction, the nature and development of religion are studied, chiefly from the psychologist's standpoint. The main questions thus raised, the validity of religious knowledge, and the ultimate truth of religion, are dealt with in the second and third parts respectively.

Each division is handled with competence and insight. Some will find the epistemological section intricate reading, but it is necessary to the argument, and is compressed as much as is possible. Dr. Galloway confesses, and his work reveals, kinship with Lotze, and those who are in effect the disciples of Lotze, the Personal Socialists; but his own sympathies are never obtruded, and his statements are studiously fair. A quality so valuable as this makes the book well suited to fulfil a long-felt need, that of a standard text-book of religious philosophy. The modern movement of opinion attaches



increasing importance to this subject; and although dogmatic theology still holds the predominant place in the curriculum of our theological colleges, it will almost certainly be supplemented in future by a much better acquaintance with religious philosophy than at present. For such a purpose Dr. Galloway's book is most fitted. This is the third important work from Dr. Galloway's pen, and the reviewer, who has read and profited by both its predecessors, is strongly of the opinion that it is the best of the three.

*The Primitive Texts of the Gospels and Acts.* By Albert C. Clark. (Clarendon Press.)

For some time it has been felt that Westcott and Hort's theory of the history of the text of the New Testament was, after all, not the last word upon the subject, and a general tendency toward assigning greater value to Western Readings has been clearly recognized. This tendency is further strengthened by the work under review. Mr. Clark has arrived at the conviction that the familiar axiom that a short reading is to be preferred to a long one is false in principle; that a process of contraction, not of expansion, is clearly indicated, and that an application of this principle brings us to the conclusion that the primitive text is not the shortest but the longest, and is to be found not in the Neutral but in the Western Text, as represented by Codex Bezae and the more ancient versions. Variants may be accounted for largely by homoioteleuton and by the omission of lines, columns, and even folios. This theory is supported by a series of most interesting discussions on the text of the book of the Acts and the four Gospels. The work will necessarily commend itself to scholars rather than to the general reader, to whom the technical language used will be foreign. But the increasing number of those who realize the importance of such work will find here a minute and careful scholarship which will satisfy them as to quality, and whether they agree with the conclusions drawn or not they will be ready to acknowledge that the work done has thrown light upon the vexed question of the authority of the Western Text.

*Life and Human Nature.* By Sir Bamfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Murray. 9s. net.)

Sir Bamfylde Fuller has attempted to construct a science of human nature by showing how Life manifests itself in all living creatures. Long experience in governing men in India has given him special insight into character, and he has drawn his psychology and evolutionary biology from the chief European and American experts. He divides his work into three parts—The Attributes of Life, including change, sensation and reaction, instinct, memory, habit and imitation, consciousness, volition. The second part, on Constraining Influences, has chapters on Race, Environment, Culture; whilst the third deals with Human Achievements—Material Progress, Social Progress, Modern Economics, Modern Politics. He accepts

the doctrine of evolution, and believes that man 'owes his form, his talents, and his aspirations to a gradual development out of brutish conditions.' He brings out impressively the enormous power of Life's energy, and attempts to survey and catalogue the most prominent of the characteristics that mark its action—instincts, memory, habit and other things. This is done with much illuminating illustration from all branches of science. The account of the giant wasp of the Mediterranean—the female *Scolia*—which burrows underground and feeds on the fat white grub of a rose-beetle, is fascinating. In dealing with instincts the body of an animal is compared to an elaborate piece of clockwork driven by a number of powerful mainsprings lying concealed within it. Little starting levers lie on the outside which respond to the slightest touch and set this machinery in motion. Sir B. Fuller draws a contrast between the cramping mechanical energies of Matter, and those 'activities of a more spiritual character which we may venture to identify with Life itself.' The principles defined in the New Testament lie as deep as Life itself. 'No one who believes in the spirit of Life but will accept Jesus Christ as His Example and his Master.' The description of restraining influences and of the way in which 'Life enjoins upon each generation the imperative task of producing a generation to succeed it' is very suggestive. The subject is deeply interesting, and all who read the book will be grateful to Sir Bamfylde Fuller for his luminous and comprehensive survey of the whole problem of Life.

*The Infancy of Religion.* By D. C. Owen, M.A. (Milford. 3s. 6d. net.)

The Rector of Stoke Abbot's volume is the fourth in the St. Deniol's series. Study of early religion has deepened the writer's conviction of the reality of the religious sense and of the tenacity of its hold upon primitive folk. He begins by showing how the savage regards nature. Animals are not merely desired for food, but to gain their courage, strength, or fleetness. This 'Sympathetic Magic' was remarkably prevalent in early society. It was felt that the forces of inanimate nature were directed by some intelligence and the magician was called in to command rain, sunshine, or wind. The haziness which encompassed the Supernatural was gradually stripped off till a distinct personality was reached. In his relations to his fellow, man had in him 'a spark of kindness and a disposition to do right as he understands it,' even when he revelled in the possession of 'scalps and feasted on human flesh.' The function of sacrifice was to summon the god to business, to move him to forward the interests of his worshippers. Prayer opened a different world from that of the magician. It centred attention upon a supernatural Providence without whose will and pleasure no good thing could come. 'The World of the Dead' forms the subject of a readable chapter, and the closing survey shows that in all affairs of life religion has been a power for good.

Deprived of its support man would continually have slipped back to the point whence he had begun to climb. The subject is handled in a popular way, and it is one of never-failing interest.

*The Further Evolution of Man.* By W. H. Calvert, M.D.  
(A. C. Fifield. 5s. net.)

Some six years ago an able volume was published by Mr. G. Paulin, entitled, 'No Struggle for Existence, no Natural Selection,' which appears to have attracted less attention than it deserved. A sober and careful attack upon Darwinism and Malthusianism by 'a lifelong evolutionist,' one would have thought, would have provoked some serious reply. The sum and substance of the author's finding was, 'The way of God in creation baffles me by its mystery. Of the mode of evolution nature tells us nothing.' Upon this volume Dr. Calvert has based his present issue. It accepts Paulin's contention as proved, and elaborates the consequences in a series of thoroughly scientific and suggestive chapters. There is much truth in his statement that 'theologians and their allies have confounded "natural selection" with "evolution," and directed the main force of their attack against the latter, under the impression that they were fighting the Darwinian theory. Had they admitted evolution, but denied the ability of natural selection to explain it, the Darwinian theory would not in all probability have gained the ascendancy which it now enjoys.' In supporting Paulin's attitude Dr. Calvert gives a whole chapter to 'The cannibal habit in the male,' which he deems sufficient check in the animal world against too prolific increase, without invoking natural selection at all. In another able chapter upon 'heredity and environment,' he puts all stress upon the latter, and practically dismisses heredity from consideration, on the authority of the Weismannian school. 'Environment, we are entitled to consider, is the chief force in moulding the lives of men, and influencing their thought, and the future of the race, for good or ill.' His lengthy chapter on 'The Ideal State' merits thoughtful perusal, and his 'Final Goal' is inspiring from the highest standpoint. He claims that the 'awful doctrine of Malthus has been destroyed, otherwise the only possible fate of man was one of despair and devoid of hope or cheer.' The hope of the future lies in the fact that 'essential man' is dependent upon environment, which it is the duty of the State to make the very best possible for every individual. In his appeal to history, Dr. Calvert accepts the attitude of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his well-known work on 'Social Evolution,' and claims that the social betterment now in progress, 'began with the diffusion in men's minds of Christian altruism.' In this, strange to say, he is in perfect accord with Mr. Blatchford. But the latter would not accept the eminently Christian conclusion of our author, that we are in the midst of a 'spiritual evolution, and with it has come the idea of Divine Immanence; so that the spirit or soul of man, free and responsible, by realizing itself has come into harmony with the Divine, has become one with God.'

But his whole volume may be taken as a well-reasoned plea on behalf of such conclusion, and may be commended to the serious study of every modern philanthropist.

*The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures: The First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By the Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J. (Longmans. 1s. net.)

This is a careful and well balanced translation which will add to the good reputation which the first part of the Westminster Version won. The Introduction has three Sections on Roman Corinth, on the founding of the Church, and the occasion and date of the first Epistle. 'Smart Athens' was too clever for the faith, but 'sensual vice could be cured' and in Corinth God 'had much people.' There is an important Appendix by Professor Keogh on 'The Ministry in the Apostolic Church.' He reviews the opinions of non-Catholic writers, and reaches the conclusion that 'the steps in the organization of the local church would seem to have been the establishment of a body of presbyters under the oversight of an Apostle and his staff, followed later by the Apostolic appointment over the presbyters, deacons, and faithful of a monarchical bishop who worked under the general control of the Apostles, so long as such control was possible.' Prof. Keogh finds it hard to explain the silence of the New Testament and of Clement of Rome as to any monarchical Episcopate, and he takes no account of the Didache 'because of its uncertain date and authority.' He holds that ἐπίσκοπος, which at first was applied to all presbyters, was later restricted to him who was in supreme command of a local church. The translation leans to the conservative side, 'charity' is the word in 1 Cor. xiii, 'bestow in doles' in verse 3 is good, and so is 'deliver my body to the flames,' and verses 4, 5 have some happy touches. Charity is not 'pretentious, is not puffed up, behaveth not amiss. . . regardeth not evil.'

*The New Covenant, Commonly Called the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* By the Rev. E. E. Cunningham. (Routledge & Sons. 3s. net.)

This is a revision of the Authorized Version, and intended to supply a rendering faithful to the original and abreast with the knowledge of the day, yet presenting 'the words of evangelists and apostles in English as correct and clear as may be attained.' For 'justify,' Mr. Cunningham substitutes 'account [pronounce] righteous.' 'Justification of life' (Rom. v. 18) becomes 'a pronouncing righteous unto life,' and Rom. v. 1 reads, 'Accounted righteous therefore by reason of faith.' 'Will' is substituted for 'shall' with good effect in Acts xxiii, 8 and Matt. xxvi, 34. 1 Cor. xiii, 12 is 'by means of a mirror, in a riddle.' Heb. i. 1 'in many portions and in many ways.' Prof. Nestle's Greek text has been followed. It is a careful rendering that leans strongly to the conservative side, and above all aims to make

the English run smoothly. 'Gaius, host to me and the whole Church,' is a distinct improvement, and there are many happy touches which make the revision worthy of hearty commendation.

*Pentateuchal Criticism.* By the Rev. D. C. Simpson, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

This study is appropriately dedicated to Dr. Driver. He had seen the MS. and had promised to write an Introduction to it, but was prevented by his last illness from carrying out his promise. He expressed an earnest wish that Bishop Ryle would undertake that duty. He feels that there was 'much need for a clear, temperate, and reverent statement,' such as this. Mr. Simpson describes the 'Meaning of Criticism' in his first chapter, and then gives an illuminating sketch of 'The history of Pentateuchal Criticism.' This is followed by chapters on 'The Priestly Source,' 'The Sources J. and E.' and 'Deuteronomy.' Lists of characteristic passages and parallel passages will be very helpful to students. Two closing chapters deal with 'The Pentateuch in the light of Hebrew History' and 'The Divine Purpose in Hebrew Religion.' The book is lucid in all its statements, and Mr. Simpson reaches the conclusion that 'criticism' 'helps us to realize more fully that the Catholic Religion had its origins not in Hellenic mysteries or in any kind of pagan environment, but specifically in a Hebrew environment which God, in fulfilment of His divine purpose, had prepared through the inspiration of the Prophet, the discipline of the Law, the teaching of "Wisdom," and the utterance of the Apocalyptists.'—Mr. Winer's pamphlet, *The Pentateuchal Text* (Elliot Stock. 6d. net) should be read with care. It is a reprint of his article in *Bibliotheca Sacra* in answer to Dr. Skinner's papers in the *Expositor*.

*New Testament Criticism: Its History and Results.* By J. A. McClymont, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

These Baird Lectures deal with the subject of Biblical Criticism from the standpoint of one who claims no immunity for the Scriptures from that strict examination to which everything is subjected in this scientific age. 'If it be guided by sound principles, Criticism cannot injure the interests of truth; only error and falsehood have anything to fear from its conclusions.' Dr. McClymont calls attention to the fact that the Confessions and Articles of the Reformed Churches lay down no definite theory of inspiration. He says 'all we are entitled to claim, or have any need to claim, for the Bible is that it contains the Word of God to a degree unequalled in any other book or in any other literature.' The lecture on Textual Criticism is an admirable survey of its history and methods. Then the different parts of the New Testament are taken up and the various critical problems to which they have given rise are considered. The discussion of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is of real value, and strongly in favour of its having been written by the Apostle John.



In closing his survey Dr. McClymont points out that on many of the questions involved nothing like certainty can be reached. The evidence of experts has to be weighed before their conclusions are accepted, and above all we must remember that the testimony which the books of the Old and New Testaments give to Christ constitutes their chief value. Questions of authorship, date or text are all subordinate to this. This clear and concise account of New Testament criticism may be strongly commended to all devout readers.

*Jesus and His Parables.* By George Murray, B.D.  
(T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Murray aims in this book at an edifying and homiletical application of our Lord's parables, and is concerned very little with critical questions and even less with the balancing of rival views in interpretation. He arranges the parables into five groups, according as they display the operation of grace in the individual life against pharisaism under different disguises, with a view to the attainment of fellowship with God as the ideal. Two of the groups are more general, and relate severally to the conception of the Kingdom and to the final judgement. The arrangement is artificial and not always convincing. With it, as with any similar scheme, the parables have occasionally to be fixed into the place assigned them; and in several cases, such as that of the heaven and the hidden treasure, it is doubtful whether our Lord's real object in the selection of a parable has survived the exigencies of classification. The treatment is devout, suggestive, and quickening. It shows what an effective use may be made in a modern congregation of a series of addresses on passages that are united by a similarity in literary form, with the variety of moral counsels that may thereby be pressed home. Thus both as a help to devotion and as an illustration of the preacher's art, the book has a distinct value.

*Moral Paradoxes of St. Paul.* By the Rev. W. L. Watkinson, D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Watkinson has written no volume of Sermons more timely and arresting than this. It gains by its unity of subject, and at every page we feel how well that subject suits this keen observer of life and morals. In his preface Dr. Watkinson refers to the charge that Christianity does injustice to human nature. 'The popularity of a scornful like Nietzsche' calls for criticism. 'True, much of his writing smells unpleasantly of the "ever stronger doses of chloral, and of that fatal Eastern drug given him by the Dutch gentleman from Java," to which his sympathetic biographers tell us he was addicted; yet the literary merit of his writing invests with plausibility his wild theories, and secures for him in certain quarters considerable attention and admiration.' He regarded the Christian code, which was supremely austere, as fatal to the strength and glory of humanity.



Dr. Watkinson seeks in these sermons to show that 'the faith of Christ does no violence whatever to the integrity of our nature, but, on the contrary, handsomely justifies the passions, and richly supplies the power requisite for their development and discipline.' The titles of the sermons arrest attention: In praise of ambition, of boasting, of ecstasy, of jealousy, of anger, &c. We want to know what St. Paul and his interpreter have to say on such themes. It is said well and it needed saying. Life becomes a richer, nobler thing when 'Our one ambition is still to be well-pleasing unto Him.' The preacher borrows many a striking illustration from nature, from science, and from the world of books which he has rifled of so many treasures. He never loses sight of his purpose to prove that 'revelation recognizes our life in its wholeness, fullness, intensity.' 'It is pure caricature to represent the Christian as a poltroon on whom any one may trample.' 'We must live,' he says, 'under the sky of eternity, fellowship with the Master our constant refuge and delight, the law of love and purity reigning in our heart. Herein lies the secret of sanity, temperance, and sweetness.' That is a grand message which the world needs, and it is delivered in a way that searches heart and conscience.

*The Historic and the Inward Christ. A Study in Quaker Thought.* By Edward Grubb, M.A. (Headley Brothers. 1s. net.)

This is a valuable addition to the fine set of Swarthmore Lectures. Mr. Grubb holds that the Society of Friends has suffered throughout its history from a tendency to undervalue and even to despise theology. If the Society is to help struggling souls into the sure anchorage of Christian faith, it must 'seek for clearer light than it has yet attained on the connexion between the direct experience of God in the soul and the revelation brought in history by Jesus Christ; it must unite, more effectively than in the past, the Jesus of history with the living "Christ" of experience.' That is well put, and the review of Quaker Christology abundantly sustains it. There is much about Job Scott, Elias Hicks and that new Evangelicalism in the Society which is largely associated with the work of J. J. Gurney. Mr. Grubb shows along what lines the reunion of the historic and the inward Christ should proceed. Their faith centres in a Person 'Who ever lives not in some far-off heaven, but in our midst, evermore to be the inward source of light and love, and power, and joy, to those who are united to Him by faith and obedience.'

*A Letter to Asia. Being a Paraphrase and Brief Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Believers at Colossae.* By Frederick Brooke Westcott. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

Archdeacon Westcott has rendered another Service to those 'who still have time and energy for quiet Bible reading.' He has

supplied a paraphrase which brings out many shades of meaning, and an Introduction which deals with the history of Colossæ and the contents of the Epistle. Four chapters on the text furnish guidance which a thoughtful reader needs in seeking to get to the heart of the letter. The book is not intended for advanced students, but even they will learn much from so careful a scholar and so experienced a teacher as Archdeacon Westcott. It is a rich piece of popular exposition, stimulating and fresh throughout. A comment on ii. 8 may show the style: 'The supreme truth as to Christ is that He is wholly God. Hence no other power is needed: He in Himself is all-sufficient. This great convincing truth sweeps away, as so many cobwebs, the vain imaginings of "mediating angels." They are left with no purpose to serve. The Incarnation accomplishes all. All the silly Colossian folks, who had been so artfully "kidnapped," had better make their way home, and rest in the grand simplicity of the one and only gospel.'

*Restatement and Reunion: A Study in First Principles.*  
By B. H. Streeter. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Streeter's essay in *Foundations* attracted special attention, but he thinks that some of his critics failed to do justice to his position by overlooking the statement that he heartily associated himself with the general position of the essayists as to the divinity of Christ. In this suggestive little volume his purpose is not controversial but constructive. His first study, 'The Simplicity of Christianity,' is an attempt to present the essentials of the Christian message in a way that will render it independent of 'all those subtleties of historical criticism or metaphysics, the hazardous and conjectural nature of which are best known to those who have most closely studied them.' He fastens on six main ideas, and seeks to show that each is 'infinitely expansive in its practical application.' We then reach the subjects of 'Authority, reunion, truth.' When it comes to the fundamental needs of religion and the kind of answer that will satisfy them we are all plain men. There is no difference at all between us. The plain man relies on authority to guide and help him, but it must be the authority of men whom he respects. The authority of the Bible and the Church are examined, and the conclusion is reached that Christian Union will settle itself as truth and love prevail. In a closing section 'the conception of the One Church' is discussed from the historical point. As to the 'Preliminaries of Reunion,' Mr. Streeter thinks that a system of loose federation or alliance would promote a real feeling of unity and gradually lead towards reunion. 'The Problem of Intercommunion' is also dealt with, but we doubt whether Mr. Streeter's proposed concessions would satisfy either Evangelicals or High Churchmen.

*Personality and Revelation.* By Frederick W. Butler. (2s. net.) *Christian Belief.* By J. K. Mozley, M.A. (1s. net.) Cambridge: Heffer & Sons.

Mr. Butler shows that the grounds of Christian certainty are found in 'that action of God in Christ whereby personality is gained, and the soul brought to victory over the world and the lower self.' This he holds to be the starting-point of a scientific theology. The meaning of the life of God is realized in the most effective and direct way by our moral victory due to the continuous action of the Holy Spirit. 'The soul advances through its own assertion of its transcendence over sense, and its response to the directing work of the Spirit.' This personal experience lights up the whole realm of Christian truth. The force of this apologetic is well brought out, and a religious proof is reached which has real scientific value. It is a thoughtful and helpful statement of a great argument.

Mr. Mozley's four addresses on 'The Christian View of God and the World' were delivered in Pembroke College Chapel. He regards the doctrine of the Incarnation as 'the constitutive and regulative principle of Christianity,' and feels that a Christianity which 'tries to revise the Nicene Creed will revise itself out of existence.' He shows how the Christian Creed has sprung out of an historical fact—the Person of Jesus Christ. The Cross reveals the meaning of God's holy love. 'For if Christ's work is the response to the demands of God's holiness, His presence is the gift of God's love' A sermon is added which pleads for a theological Church—'a theology which comes from experience of the meaning and nature of the gospel.' The addresses and sermon will well repay careful study.

*The Twelve: Studies in Apostolic Temperament.* By the Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. (Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.)

These studies are a considerable advance upon anything that the author has hitherto published. With one exception, they were delivered on Sunday mornings in Kingsway Hall, and have been printed from verbatim reports. The author is a born preacher, and the addresses, often rising into a persuasive eloquence, have all the passion of the preacher who is bent on winning an immediate verdict for his Master, the personal appeals to his audience being often irresistible in their searching and not seldom touching urgency. But in each of these studies there is much of that 'fundamental brain-work' which gives substance and permanence to these immediately effective sermons. The theme is old and well worn, but the treatment is fresh and vigorous and suggestive. All the relevant literature of the subject has been assimilated and utilized, and the author's wide yet choice reading in recent prose and verse has stood him in good stead; but there is much original and often striking, quickening thought in these addresses, and this mighty West End preacher is entitled to much more than the modest hope that he 'has been able to do at least a little profitable gleaning where the harvest has been so rich.'

No one can read these fifteen deep and kindling studies without being instructed and stimulated in a high degree, and the effect upon the reader will be at once to humble him and fill him with resolve and hope. For the present moment, these are models of effective popular address.

The two new volumes of *The Great Texts of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 6s. net) will be warmly welcomed. That on the Old Testament (Psalms xxiv. to cxix.) has a wealth of illustration and incident of which a wise sermonizer may make splendid use. Brief expositions are given. Then extracts of prose and poetry follow, which are varied and fresh. The result is a volume that it is both pleasant and helpful to read and consult. The New Testament volume includes I and II Thessalonians, the Pastoral Epistles and Hebrews. The twenty-seven passages have been wisely selected, and the list of topics shows their importance: 'Asleep in Jesus; Ceaseless Prayer; The Crowned Christ' are tempting subjects, and congregations will have reason to be grateful to preachers who direct attention to them.

*The Greater Men and Women of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 6s. net) is a companion work which has already made a happy start. Moses and Joshua fill the chief place in the new volume, which also includes Aaron, Achan, Balaam, Caleb, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah and his daughter, Miriam and Samson. The lists of literature show how many important books have been drawn on. No preacher or teacher who has this work on his shelves need ever be at a loss for attractive material.

*The Church in the New Testament.* By E. E. Genner, M.A.  
*The Canon of the New Testament.* By G. Waddy Polkinghorne.  
*The Religion of our Northern Ancestors.* By E. E. Kellett, M.A. (Kelly, 1s. net each.)

The New Testament Church, as the mother-church of all Christendom, is of universal interest. All the three great types of church-organization appeal to its authority. By excluding subsequent developments from view the writer succeeds in giving an admirable outline of a wide subject in small compass. Points both of comparison and contrast between past and present, readily suggest themselves to the reader. The freedom, simplicity, and spontaneity of the first days, and the complexity of later growths, are striking. The selection of matter is excellent, the style animated, the spirit all that could be desired. The writer draws upon his own experience for parallels between past and present. He sees that as the New Testament Church was in its missionary state, the mission-field supplies the best illustrations. As 'God's word' is often used as a proper name, the initial of 'word' should be a capital. The account of 'the fruit of the Spirit' on p. 86 is incomplete.

Two other excellent additions to the 'Manual' series are remarkable for the amount of trustworthy information in brief compass. The first one establishes from the evidence of early writers the identity

of the New Testament with that of the primitive Church. The recognition of the books was practically complete at the end of the second century. The narrative clearly brings out the fact of the process. No official authority was responsible. 'These books were not first officially pronounced canonical by some ecclesiastical board.' The same is true of the Old Testament canon. Councils and Synods simply recognized Church usage. A few New Testament books waited for full attestation longer than the rest. The work might well serve as a text-book in Bible-classes.

The subject of the second work has special fascination for us. We are more at home in its mythology than in the similar literature of the East. Odin, Thor, Loki are more familiar to us than the gods of India, or indeed of Greece and Rome. Their relics survive among us to-day. The author will not let us think of our ancestors as barbarians. Their picturesque legends teem with proverbial wisdom. The contrast between their storm and strain and the dreamy East is extreme. In the case of nations as of individuals, 'the child is father of the man.' Mr. Kellett's pictures of 'Northern' gods and goddesses, Magic, Spirits, First and Last Things, are Scandinavian in life and vigour.

*The Beacon Lights of Prophecy.* By Albert C. Knudson.  
(Eaton & Mains. \$1.25 net.)

Prof. Knudson deals with 'The History and nature of Prophecy' in his first chapter, and then gives us studies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. He holds that eschatology preceded literary prophecy, and therefore that there is 'no valid ground for eliminating the Messianic passages from the writings of the pre-exilic prophets.' They were not merely preachers of repentance, but heralds of the coming Kingdom. In the religious history of mankind there is nothing comparable to the prophetic teaching of Israel. Dr. Knudson traces the history of prophecy from the days of Samuel. He aptly describes Nathan, Gad, Ahijah and Micaiah as the minor prophets of the pre-literary period. Amos 'stood for the enthronement of conscience in religion'; Hosea made 'the great thought of the love of God the permanent possession of mankind.' Insight and scholarship blend happily in this most suggestive study.

*The Mission of Christ and the Title Deeds of Christianity.*  
By the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A. (Robert Scott.  
3s. 6d. net.)

A study of the Gospels and Epistles from the point of view of one who has other than documentary grounds for believing that 'the mission of the Lord was redemption.' Canon Girdlestone thinks that 'we need to stand back and view the mission of Christ in its grandeur and simplicity.' He helps his readers to do this, and then proceeds to 'test the results attained by what we can see with our own eyes and realize in our own experience.'



The Rev. H. S. Seekings has given us a fine set of portraits of *The Men of the Pauline Circle* (Kelly, 8s. 6d.). Those who know his studies in the teaching of St. John, *For Joy's Sake*, will find that this volume has even greater felicity of style and beauty of illustration. It has the added interest that belongs to historical portraits. The striking passage from Newman quoted on the title-page is almost the motto of the book. 'He had a thousand friends, and loved each as his own soul, and seemed to live a thousand lives in them, and died a thousand deaths when he must quit them.' It is a notable circle in which St. Paul moves. He himself comes first as 'Paul the intense.' That is the characteristic in his preaching, his pastoral care, his zeal for the perfection of his own spiritual life and in his devotion to his friends. Each study has its own beauty, and it would be an unmixed gain and pleasure if Bible-class teachers could use it for a series of lessons. Mr. Seekings has put his ripe thought and wide reading into the volume, and each of the twenty-six studies has its own charm. Stephen appears as 'The Confessor,' his noble life of service 'catches the glory' of his heroic suffering. That suffering St. Luke shows to have had something of 'the true Imitation of Christ.' He shared Christ's spirit, he uttered Christ's words, and St. Luke 'rounds off the scene of terror with this surpassing phrase: *He fell asleep.*'

*The Eternal Springs of Revival.* By John Findlater (Marshall Brothers. 2s. 6d.). Mr. Findlater seeks to lay emphasis on elements of the Gospel which have taken prominence in times of powerful revival. He passes in review the six centuries from the fourteenth to the nineteenth, which have moulded the religious life of Britain and America, and asks what truths have had special prominence. The pioneers of each fresh advance of Christianity have sought and obtained a new understanding of Christ for themselves, and their own times. That is the key to Mr. Findlater's book. He dwells on the life, the mission, the doctrine, and the authority of Christ, and studies the call and training of the first disciples and the Apostolic programme to throw light on the Christian character and service of to-day. The conclusion is that every great revival is a 'reiteration of the call which to-day is sounding louder and clearer than ever before, "Back to Christ: Back to God."'—*In the Garden With Him.* By Dora Farncomb. (R. Scott. 3s. 6d. net.) Miss Farncomb looks on religion as walking with God in His Garden. She has much to say of spring time and growth, of beauty and fruitfulness, and she says it in a way that is fresh and persuasive. It is a book which many will welcome.—*The Reformation and the Modern Man* (Scott) is a lecture given at Queens' College, Cambridge, by the Rev. H. J. R. Marston, which shows how modern life has been enriched by the Reformation. It is clear and full of interest.—*Our Spiritual Skies.* By Charles Coke Woods. (Eaton & Mains. 1s net.) These meditations will stir many minds. They have touches of personal experience and bear witness to close and discriminating reading. The studies of

'The Soul in Tennyson's Masterpiece'; 'Shakespeare and the Soul'; and 'A Literary Searchlight of the Soul—Robert Browning,' have specially charmed us, and the pieces described as 'The Skyward Look from Scripture' are just what one wants to brood over in a devotional hour.—*Thirsting After God*. By D. Crawford. (Morgan & Scott. 8s. 6d. net.) These Bible Readings will be very welcome to all who have enjoyed *Thinking Black*. They are meditations in Central Africa. Five are 'Lord's Supper Reveries,' fresh and suggestive studies of familiar passages; eight are grouped under the heading, 'Apostolic Christianity,' and four are 'Mission Studies.' Mr. Crawford has his own happy way of putting things, and his book is full of spiritual insight.—*The Theological Student*. By J. Robinson Gregory. (Kelly. 2s. 6d.) This hand-book was published in 1892 and has enjoyed a steady sale. The present edition has been revised with great care and valuable notes added, one of which deals with the results of the Higher Criticism in a broad-minded yet conservative spirit. It is now a text-book which young students will find of the greatest service. It is clear in style and arrangement, and its criticisms are strong and judicious.—*Morning Joy*. By W. E. Sellers. (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.) These sermons were meant for sufferers, and the lovely messages from the Psalms will do much to banish fear and fill the heart with confidence in the lovingkindness of God. Such a book has a wide field of usefulness, for it is full of sunshine.—*The Golden Snuffers*. By H. W. Shrewsbury. (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.) These addresses seek to open up the riches of the Bible to the young. The texts are striking, and such titles as 'The Interwoven Cherubim, The Lord's Lame Lambs, Honeycomb Speech,' arrest attention. Some of the illustrations are deliciously homely and effective. It is a first-rate book.—The six volumes just added to Macmillan's 1s. Theological Library are masterpieces. Kingsley's *True Words for Brave Men* gives twenty-four of his sermons and five addresses, marked by high courage and fine Christian temper. *The Christian Ecclesia*, by Dr. Hort, is one of the works that every student needs to master. *The Divine Library of the Old Testament*, by Dean Kirkpatrick, deals with the origin, preservation, inspiration of the Old Testament, and its use in the Christian Church, in a most instructive way. Dr. Illingworth's *Christian Character*, Bernard Lucas's *Conversations with Christ*, and Mr. Temple's *The Kingdom of God*, are all the greatest of interest and value, both for the student and for devotional reading.—*The Canticles of the Christian Church, Eastern and Western, in Early and Mediæval Times*. By James Mearns, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.) The words canticle, psalm, and hymn are used vaguely and interchangeably by the early Christian Fathers. In the Greek Horologion the canticles are massed together as the Nine Odes. The Oriental Psalters more or less agree in using these Odes, but the Latin Psalters shew a much greater diversity, and the Monastic Canticles vary in a surprising fashion. Mr. Mearns has examined a considerable range of manuscripts in Continental libraries, and has been in correspondence with various Georgian

and Russian authorities. He has had to deal with doubtful points of history, archaeology, liturgy and palaeography, and throws light on many liturgical uses. St. Augustine brought his Roman psalter with him to Canterbury, and when Wilfrid came there in 652 he found it in use and learned it by heart. There are many points of interest in this learned volume, and to liturgiologists it will be invaluable.—*Why not Theosophy?*—By Dr. Ballard. (Kelly. 1d.) This is a masterly criticism of this strange cult. Its plausibilities, its doctrines, its contradictions to Christianity, and its errors are described in a way that will make a deep impression.—*Homes of the Bible: A Service for Mothers' Day.* By S. T. Jackson. (New York: Methodist Book Concern. 5 cents.) Music, Scripture, selections, recitations for the second Sunday in May. Noah's symbols borne by six girls make a striking feature of this happy service. It will increase domestic piety where it is used.—*More Rays of the Dawn.* By Rachel J. Fox. (Kegan Paul & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) This book professes to have been received through a spirit-guide who promised the writer that if she would accept the line of interpretation the Christ-mind which brooded over the men who produced the Old Testament Scriptures would come into bolder relief. There are some remarkable things in the volume, but it cannot claim any serious consideration.

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## BIOGRAPHY, HISTORY, TRAVEL

*The Ulster Scot : His History and Religion.* By the Rev. J. B. Woodburn, M.A. (Allenson. 5s. net.)

THIS book appears at an opportune moment. Its subject is the Scoto-Irish, of whom 95 per cent. live in Ulster and belong to the Irish Presbyterian Church. Mr. Woodburn has written chiefly to interest the ordinary man, and has devoted some chapters entirely to religion, which is inseparable from the history of the Ulster Scot, and is the chief source of his strong and striking characteristics. Mr. Woodburn says that the difference between the people of the North and the South of Ireland is not due to race. 'The whole population is a mixture of Celtic and Teutonic, and the Ulsterman has probably as much Celtic blood as the Southerner.' In 1603 they were almost pure Celts. Then immigration from Scotland went on for nearly a century, and the Scots intermarried both with the native Irish who became Protestants, and with the English. Some useful pages on the geography of Ulster are followed by chapters on the Reformation in Ireland and on the Plantation of Ulster in 1610. The first Presbyterian ministers came across from Scotland about 1621. The course of events under the Stuarts and William III is fully described. The emigration to America which set in about 1700 and lasted for more than sixty years, drained Ulster of the best of her sons. The accounts of the expulsion of the Arians and the Revival of 1859 are of special interest, and that of 'The Increasing Prosperity of the People' which set in sixty years ago with the passing of juster laws and the system of land purchase will be read with sympathy on both sides of the Channel. The chapter on 'Famous Ulster Scots' gives a few facts about Viscount Bryce, who was born in Belfast, the grandson of a Presbyterian minister. The book has some good maps, and is written with knowledge and discrimination. The account of the characteristics of the Ulster-Scot is excellent. 'He is determined to the verge of stubbornness, and will accept no compromise; stern, dogged, and strong of purpose; independent, self-contained, and self-reliant, able to stand on his own feet, and intensely proud of the fact.'

*Elizabeth and Mary Stuart. The Beginning of the Feud.* By Frank A. Mumby. Illustrated. (Chatto & Windus. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is a welcome addition to the set of volumes by which Mr. Mumby is following the course of our 'History in Contemporary Letters.' His introductory notes and estimates of the reliability of the documents are based on the latest research and supply the links that bind

the letters into a connected story. The kindness of Mrs. Andrew Lang and the editor of *Blackwood's* has made it possible to include two letters from Elizabeth's Ambassador, Thomas Randolph, to the Earl of Leicester and Sir Henry Sidney. The first, hitherto unpublished, is dated Edinburgh, March 20, 1565, and deals with the proposed marriage of Mary with Lord Robert Dudley. Mary was grievously offended by Elizabeth's attitude, and told Randolph that 'to trust much from henceforth in her, for that matter I will not.' Mary's pride was also stung by Leicester's familiarities with Elizabeth, and the young, lusty, long Lord Darnley appeared on the scene to Mary's undoing. These letters throw new light on the character of Mary. Elizabeth's marriage is constantly discussed, and there are hints that she knew herself to be physically incapable of motherhood. Many other subjects of great interest are dealt with in the letters. John Knox writes to Queen Elizabeth in 1559 to excuse himself for his *First Blast of the Trumpet on the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Her Majesty's displeasure is 'to my wretched heart a burden, grievous and almost intolerable; so is the testimony of a clear conscience to me a stay and uphold that in desperation I sink not.' Three months later Knox is in the midst of the struggle with Mary. 'In twenty-four hours I have not four or five to natural rest and ease of this wicked carcass.' He tells Mr. Raylton that he has 'need of a good and assured horse, for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised to any that shall kill me.' The letters cover the first years of Elizabeth's reign, 1559-1565, and show with what consummate skill she foiled the plans of England's enemies and played off one against the other till she was firmly established on the throne. It is a volume of no ordinary interest, and its fine illustrations add much to its charm.

*Napoleon in Exile: Elba.* By Norwood Young, with a chapter on the Iconography by A. M. Broadley. With 51 Illustrations from Mr. Broadley's Collection. (Stanley Paul & Co. 21s. net.)

This is the first of three volumes on Napoleon in Exile. In Elba we see him set free from the burden of Empire and the conduct of vast military operations, though 'not yet given up to the pose for posterity' which he assumed later at St. Helena. Two other volumes are to be published next March, dealing with the last six years of his life. This volume covers the eleven months from the entry of the allies into Paris on March 31, 1814, to March 1, 1815, when Napoleon landed on the coast of France at his return from Elba. Mr. Young has had free access to unpublished Elban material collected by the late Earl of Crawford, and has been allowed to avail himself of Mr. Broadley's Napoleonic Library, and to enrich his volume by many contemporary French and English caricatures and some fine views and portraits from Mr. Broadley's collection. The farewell to the Old Guard is one of the moving passages of the book. It scarcely

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prepares us to witness the dread which the master of war felt of the mob in his journey toward Elba, and his fear of poison. When these dangers were past he became sensible that he had cut a sorry figure. He told General Koller, 'I have shown you myself quite naked.' The desire to recover self-respect and to prove that he was no coward had something to do with his determination to leave Elba. Mr. Young gives a vivid account of the island Court with its etiquette and the Emperor's attention to detail. The Empress had been ready to join him after his downfall, but she made all manner of excuses for not coming to Elba. That part of the story is sordid enough. When he first reached Elba Napoleon's restless energy sorely taxed his attendants. He 'careered over the island in every direction until, as he observed, he "knew it by heart."' After his mother and his sister Pauline joined him, they and their suites played cards, but had some painful moments with the Emperor's cheating and his mother's forgetfulness in paying her debts. Napoleon had a kind heart, though in public life he was 'a cruel and callous man, indifferent to human suffering, and contemptuous of mankind.' The chapter by Mr. Broadley gives a most interesting account of the aquatints, portraits, and engravings of the period, as well as of the pamphlets, satires and ballads. It is a volume which every student of Napoleon's career will be anxious to put on his shelves.

*Cavour and the Making of Modern Italy, 1810-1861.* By Pietro Orsi. (Putnam's Sons. 5s. net.)

Cavour deserves his place among *The Heroes of the Nations*. The making of modern Italy is one of the greatest events of recent history, and its four outstanding figures are Victor Emmanuel, Mazzini, the thinker and apostle, Garibaldi, the soldier who was 'the highest expression of what is most generous in the Italian character,' and Cavour, who disciplined and led all the forces of the Risorgimento towards their goal. Cavour crystallized into facts the hopes of all. The statesman admitted that he had no imagination. 'The natural tendency of his mind had been strengthened by the mathematical studies that he pursued so sedulously at the Military Academy.' He had no faith in conspiracies, and did not duly estimate Mazzini's rôle as the prophet and idealist of the new Italy. His passion was for politics, and before he was twenty-one he dreamed that he might live to be First Minister of the Kingdom of Italy. In 1832 the Austrian Ambassador in Turin wrote 'I regard him as a very dangerous man.' For twenty years his life was a preparation for office. He gave himself to agriculture and commerce and in 1850 became Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in Piedmont. Two years later he was head of the Government. Signor Orsi describes the long struggle to break the yoke of Austria. Garibaldi's heroic enterprise of the Thousand made Cavour venture on new audacities in the Marches and Umbria. In February, 1861, the first Italian Parliament met in Turin. The previous year Cavour had

declared publicly that Rome's destiny was to be 'the splendid capital of the Italian kingdom.' He did not live to see that triumph, for he died in June, 1861, and it was not till 1871 that Rome became the capital, but Cavour prepared the foundations, and his 'idea of liberty, widely interpreted and realized under every form' lay at the root of the whole Risorgimento. The story is heroic, and it is told in a way that lights up its whole course, and helps us to understand the difficulties of the four master minds that worked together for the Making of Modern Italy. Portraits and other illustrations add much to the interest of a notable volume.

*The House of Cecil.* By G. Ravenscroft Dennis. (Constable & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

The Cecils have a proud record with their three great statesmen, Lord Burleigh, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, and the third Marquess. Mr. Dennis traces their pedigree back to Richard Cicell of Herefordshire, whose son David settled at Stamford, where he was admitted to the freedom of the borough in 1494. He bought the Manor of Burghley in 1526-8. His son Richard was one of the Royal pages at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and served both Henry VIII and Edward VI as Groom of the Wardrobe. Lord Burleigh, his only son, made the name of Cecil famous throughout the world. He became Secretary of State at the age of thirty, and for forty years 'presided over the affairs of the nation with an authority second only to the Queen.' His first wife, Mary Cheke, left one son, who sorely troubled his father by his wild and unstudious youth, but settled down into a fine English gentleman, and became the first Marquess of Exeter. Burleigh's second wife was Mildred Cooke, whose sister Anne was mother of Francis Bacon. Her son was his father's successor in the favour of Elizabeth and did much to secure the peaceful succession of James I. He was not above five feet two inches in height, and his large head and round shoulders gave him a somewhat ungainly appearance, but his pure zeal for Queen and country and his ripe wisdom make him one of the great statesmen of English history. His relations to Essex and Raleigh are well brought out, and many personal touches add to the charm of the portrait here painted. The fortunes of his house and that of his elder brother who inherited the Stamford property are clearly sketched. The work of the third Marquess is described in some detail, and due honour is paid to his wife, and to other ladies of the house who did much to build up its later fortunes. The book is illustrated by some fine portraits and views of the seats at Burghley, Theobalds, and Hatfield. No way of learning history is more pleasant than the study of such a volume, and Mr. Dennis does not omit those personal touches which light up a family chronicle.

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*The Movement Towards Catholic Reform in the Early XVIth Century.* By George V. Jourdan, B.D. (Murray. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Rector of Rathbarry's volume deals in an instructive way with the reformers that preceded the Reformation. He begins with Bible teaching at Oxford in the days of Wyclif, and then gives a detailed account of Colet's teaching at the University, and his influence as Dean of St. Paul's. The movement initiated in Paris by Lefevre d'Etaples, the state of Germany before Luther, and the Reformers' early labours are all treated in a most interesting style. Mr. Jourdan has made good use of the abundant material for a study of the period which has been accumulating through the work of scholars here and in Germany and France. He traces the movement towards Catholic Reform back to Savonarola, who was the first to express the thoughts that were taking shape in the minds of his contemporaries. He seems to have affected Colet's mental outlook, though they were both products of their age. The English scholar was probably in Florence when the Dominican preacher was thrilling the city, yet Colet never mentions him. There is no evidence that Colet's Bible teaching at Oxford raised hostility against him. There was in it 'no revolt against existing authorities, or uprooting of old customs. He sought only to promote a more accurate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and to render the prevalent conceptions of the Christian faith truer and more intelligent.' When he came to St. Paul's he invited friends to preach there, and on Sundays and all festivals he expounded some 'large subject continued through many sermons.' City magnates and prominent officials of the Court came to hear him. More tells us how deep an impression was made upon his mind by the preacher's earnestness and his upright and evangelical life. The account of the Reuchlin controversy and the work of Lefevre in Paris is of special interest. The volume may be strongly commended to all who wish to understand the ferment of thought in the early years of the sixteenth century. The closing pages show how large an influence is being exerted by the period on the religious ideals of our day.

*Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Lit. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Rufus Jones had led his friends on both sides of the Atlantic to look for a volume on Boehme and his influence. He found, however, that Boehme was 'no isolated prophet who discovered in solitude a fresh way of approach to the supreme problems of the soul,' but an organic part of a far-reaching movement which sought 'to carry the Reformation to its legitimate terminus, the restoration of Apostolic Christianity.' To these spiritual Reformers his new volume is dedicated. They form the background and environment of seventeenth-century Quakerism. His Introduction shows what spiritual

religion is. The lonely men whose course Dr. Jones describes with such appreciation and insight were 'not satisfied with a programme which limited itself to a correction of abuses, an abolition of mediaeval superstitions, and a shift of external authority.' They put the emphasis on experience, not on theology, and set themselves 'to discover the road to a genuine spiritual religion,' and 'to live by the eternal Word of God as it was freely revealed as the Day Star to their souls.' The body of the book is taken up by studies of some of these spiritual reformers. Hans Deck is enrolled among the Anabaptists, but his real spirit appears in his saying, 'All externals must yield to love, for they are for the sake of love, and not love for their sake.' He succeeded in presenting 'the principle of the Inward Word as the basis of religion without giving any occasion to libertinism or moral laxity, for he found the way of freedom to be a life of growing likeness to Christ.' Jacob Boehme is the chief figure in the volume, and to him, his teaching, and his influence in England, four illuminating chapters are given. Prof. Jones has nothing to say of Wesley's criticism, but he dwells on the fact that William Law owed to Boehme the main influences which transformed his life. In a closing chapter the connexion between these reformers and the rise and development of Quakerism is well brought out. The book brings us into touch with great souls who kept spiritual religion alive in Europe in days of strife and controversy and it is a spiritual stimulus to lose one's self in its pages.

*George Brown, D.D., Pioneer Missionary and Explorer.*  
An Autobiography. (Kelly. 7s. 6d.)

A cheap issue of this Autobiography will appeal both to students of missions, and to all who are interested in folk lore. Dr. Brown began his missionary life in Samoa and won the high regard of Robert Louis Stevenson, who proposed to write the story of his life. Then he undertook pioneer work in New Britain, where some of his native teachers were killed and eaten by the natives. He proved himself a bold and resourceful leader in those times of peril, and the record of his twelve years among cannibal tribes is of thrilling interest. In 1887 he became General Secretary for Missions and in this office was able to lead out pioneer parties and to establish stations in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. His book brings a reader very close to head hunters and bloodthirsty savages and shows what triumphs Christianity has won among them. The story is in many ways unique, and Dr. Brown's account of his early life is a kind of Odyssey. It is illustrated by 111 fine photographs.

*The Life of George Müller.* By W. H. Harding. (Morgan & Scott. 6s.)

George Müller's life is one of our modern miracles. More than £1,880,000 came in answer to prayer, and hosts of children owed to him their hope of happiness and usefulness. Mr. Harding's book

does not enter into competition with the official biographies, but seeks to set forth the faith and service of this nineteenth-century Apostle in a way that may inspire others to face their own tasks with fresh courage. Müller's striking phrase, 'Only the Living God is our Patron' shows where his strength lay. Mr. Harding tells the story with much sympathy and discernment, and it is one of which our generation cannot hear too much.

*The Cradle of Mankind: Life in Eastern Kurdistan.* By the Rev. A. T. Wigram, D.D., and Edgar T. A. Wigram. (A. & C. Black. 12s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Wigram has spent ten years in Eastern Kurdistan in connexion with the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission, and has become so intimate with the tribesmen that they would talk to him about their superstitions—the last secret that they disclose. Mr. Edgar Wigram has only spent three months in the country, but he has been able to give his first impressions, and has used his pen and camera in producing a splendid set of illustrations. The country lends itself to the artist, for it has some of the grandest scenery and the most venerable monuments in the world. 'It is the very *fons et origo* of our Indo-European ancestors. Its traditions connect it with the Garden of Eden, with Noah, with Abraham. The everyday life of its inhabitants is to this hour the life of the Patriarchs, the life of Europe in the Dark Ages, the life of the Highlands of Scotland in the days of Stuart Kings.' The chronicle begins at Aleppo, to which point the Baghdad railway has penetrated. It is 'a large Oriental city, lying pooled in a shallow depression round the great castle which dominates the roofs.' The quarter near the railway station is blossoming with boulevards and hotels, but for the most part the streets are narrow, crooked and ill-paved, with toppling wooden oriels which almost meet across the road. At Aleppo the two travellers hired 'a sort of four-wheeled coster's barrow, endowed with flea-like agility by a perfect cat's-cradle of springs.' Four scraggy ponies pulled this carriage. On the third day they crossed the Euphrates in a spoon-shaped ferryboat and soon found themselves among the gangs of workmen employed by the British Museum in unearthing the secrets of the old Hittite kings. Urfa, the ancient Edessa, is a picturesque city, almost surrounded by Roman walls and with buildings of rich golden-brown stone. Mosul, opposite the site of Nineveh, is a maze of featureless lanes which a cat could jump across. The place has 80,000 inhabitants, and if you wish to cross the street in the rainy season you have to put a portable bridge over it or wear wooden pattens six inches in height. The wanderings in Kurdistan are vividly described, and readers of this exciting record will find themselves in a new world of extraordinary interest.



*Mexico: The Wonderland of the South.* By W. E. Carson.  
Revised Edition with New Chapters. (Macmillan & Co.  
10s. 6d. net.)

This book appeared in 1909, and has now been carefully revised and brought up to date by a summary of events from the accession of President Diaz in 1876 to the administration of President Huerta in 1914. The revolutionary episodes of the last few years are also described. Every one is thinking about Mexico, and a recent visit has enabled Mr. Carson to give an account of the present condition of the country and the general political outlook. The author describes his wanderings in Mexico, giving a vivid sketch of the people and the scenery, the mines and the industrial development of the country. The exports are 'mainly silver, gold, copper and other minerals; hemp, mahogany, cedar and dye-woods, tobacco, coffee, hides, indiarubber, fruit, vanilla, &c. Those who have not travelled in the country can have no conception of its marvellous richness.' The Indians will drink and gamble away the earnings of months in a few hours. Untruthfulness and dishonesty are marked characteristics, though some of those in the southern states are intelligent and peaceable and capable of making great improvement. Mr. Carson thinks that the country would gain greatly by an infusion of new blood from European immigration. Without this it will be difficult for Mexico to make any rapid advance. Invasion by the United States would be 'deeply resented by South Americans, who are racially in sympathy with the Mexicans.' Mr. Carson says that those best qualified to judge hold that a grave mistake was made by the United States in failing to recognize the administration of President Huerta. That has prevented the restoration of peace, 'and thus tended to give support to the forces of savagery and lawlessness.' The book is very brightly written, and its illustrations are of special interest.

*With the Turk in War-time.* By Marmaduke Pickthall.  
(Dent & Sons. 5s. net.)

Mr. Pickthall went to Constantinople in February, 1918, to investigate the state of Turkey. His recent knowledge of the Ottoman Empire had been restricted to the Arab province, but he now fixed his quarters with a European lady who had to all intents and purposes become a Turk, and had a fine kiosk on the coast of Asia not far from the capital. There he identified himself with his neighbours, read carefully with a Turkish tutor, and was on the most friendly terms with the Turkish ladies. He found that polygamy is little practised among the Turks of to-day. His hostess had lived among the Turks from her childhood, and wondered why Christians were 'so murderously fanatical against the kindest and most upright people in the world.' Since the Constitution was proclaimed five years ago, 'the tyrant's spies, the rich men's bravoes have been swept away; slavery has been abolished; brigandage has been

put down.' In every direction there has been improvement. The writer's sympathies are with the Muslim, and after what he saw of so-called Christians at Pera we are scarcely surprised. He holds that Islam is no less tolerant than Christianity, and is not a foe to human progress. Pera and its neighbour Galata he regards as a huge plague-spot which threatens Turkey with corruption. The sorrows of the Balkan war are brought pitifully home to the reader by some sights which Mr. Pickthall describes, and he gives a vivid account of the deplorable murder of the grand Vizier—Mahmud Shevket. The Turkish peasant is exceedingly industrious, and now at last he has leave to be a man. The greatest task of the reformers, next to the reorganization of the public schools, is the revival of local government 'by which alone the poorer Muslims can be quietly raised to the position of responsible, free citizens, the rich compelled to help them and themselves.' The experience which Mr. Pickthall has gained entitles him to a hearing, and he knows how to make his story one of deep human interest.

*The Balkans: A Laboratory of History.* By William M. Sloane. (Eaton & Mains. \$1.50 net.)

Prof. Sloane, of Columbia University, made three somewhat extended journeys between 1903 and 1910, in lands which once formed part of the Turkish empire. He was in Europe during the recent war, so that he was able to make a close study of the whole situation. The result is a notable book dealing with the history of Turkey and the Balkan nations and tracing the causes and the course of the struggle with Turkey. The boundaries of the states before and after the war are shown by maps. We do not know any single volume which gives so much up-to-date information. After the revolution of 1908, when Young Turkey seized the helm, the one vital problem of local and tribal affairs remained untouched. Europe fancied that the Balkan question had been settled for many years by this attempt to 'Turkify' Turkey in Europe. But in 1911 'the race volcano exploded once again and the political earth began to quake.' Prof. Sloane shows the poverty of Montenegro. The only conspicuous shops in its capital, Cettigne, are 'those of the tailors, whose windows are a revel of gold galoon and gay colours.' Its broad streets are flanked with low, one-story village houses, small and primitive. The formation of the Balkan Alliance is sketched in an illuminating way, and the course of the war is made clear. Dr. Sloane comes 'to the disheartening conclusion that dishonour, atrocious brutality, and entire absence of chivalry have marked the conduct of the war by most, if not all, of the combatants.' Warm tribute is paid to Sir Edward Grey's masterly guidance of the negotiations between the Six Powers. The task of each of the Balkan States is sketched. Each of them has enough to do within its own frontiers to tax all its powers for the next thirty years. Servia has nearly doubled her territory, and has to regenerate almost the whole of Macedonia. Bulgaria is more

exhausted than any of the other combatants, and needs to renew her courage and even her very life. Greece has to maintain her pre-eminence at sea and fortify and garrison her long frontier. This is a book of outstanding interest and importance for all students of the Balkan question.

*Highways and Byways in Shakespeare's Country.* By W. H. Hutton, with Illustrations by Edmund H. New. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Hutton has known Shakespeare's country intimately for nearly forty years. He has spent many a holiday there, and for almost half a century the dramatist has been his greatest friend. No one could have been more fittingly entrusted with the preparation of such a handbook as this. The pilgrimage begins at Little Compton, where in his Commonwealth eclipse, Bishop Juxon diverted himself with a pack of hounds which exceeded all others in England, 'for the pleasure and orderly hunting of them.' Mr. Hutton has much to say about the lovely house at Compton Winyates. 'Wineyate' points to a vineyard, 'cwn' is a valley, Compton is the homestead in a hole. After a visit to the Edgehill battlefield and to the delightful park of Compton Verney, we enter Warwickshire. Its capital has a chapter to itself, rich in historic interest, and with some fine illustrations by Mr. New. Stratford is the centre of the shire, and in three chapters we explore the town, the region round it, and the Shakespeare villages. Here again Mr. New's exquisite sketches add a finishing touch to Mr. Hutton's pages. Charlcote has ample attention, and everything we want to know about the birthplace, the church, the river, is graphically told. Kenilworth and Coventry are conspicuous in the later stage of the pilgrimage, and good maps and plans add to the value of a book whose appeal to lovers of Shakespeare must prove irresistible.

*A Winter Holiday in Fiji.* By Robert Brummitt, M.R.C.S. (Kelly. 2s. net.)

The author, a South Australian doctor, in company with his daughter and a friend, spent a five weeks' holiday in the islands of Fiji, and here records their experiences and own impressions. There is nothing in the book startlingly novel to those who have read or heard much about those interesting islands, but the author chats pleasantly, and has a good descriptive gift, so that as we scan his pages we are able to realize the scenes of which he writes, and to enter sympathetically into his reflections. He gives a fairly full account of the conditions and requirements of the missionary work in Fiji, and confirms the opinion, held by all competent to judge, that the problem of Christian work there is as great—though of a different kind—as in the dark days of old. The importation of Indian coolies, who, after serving an indentured term in the sugar plantations, settle in and are gradually overrunning the islands, constitutes the present-

day claim upon Christian effort; for unless these Indians can be won for Christianity the future of the islands threatens to be as heathen as in the days when the first missionaries braved the cruelty and savagery of the Fijians of old. To-day, the Fijian population is continuously declining, the Indian increasing; and Dr. Brummitt repeatedly urges the importance of missionary work among the latter. Such work is at present very inadequately carried on.

Dr. George Brown commends this book in a kindly Introduction, and its attractiveness is increased by some good illustrations and by a useful map.

*Beyond the Pir Panjal.* By Ernest F. Neve, M.D. (C.M.S. 2s. 6d.)

This is a popular edition of a very fine record of missionary work in Kashmir. Dr. Neve has been engaged in medical service there for more than a quarter of a century, and his descriptions of the scenery the flowers, and the people are full of charm. The Kashmiris have a strong sense of humour. Sir Walter Lawrence once received a petition from an elderly villager who stood for nearly half an hour on his head. He explained that his affairs were so confused that he did not know whether he was standing on his head or his heels. The school boys cheered the cholera because their teacher told them it would bring them many opportunities for playing the man. The book gives a real picture of Kashmir, and its illustrations are very effective.

*A Central African Parish.* By E. C. Hudson, M.A. (Heffer & Sons. 1s. net.)

The Bishop of Zanzibar writes a little introduction to this record. It is by one of his clergy, and is an unpretentious but vivid account of actual life in a typical mission station. A brief sketch is given of the Universities' Mission to which it belongs, then we visit Luatala, in German East Africa, some six days from the coast. English readers will find this a very interesting picture of a High Church mission.

*Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement.* By Dr. Werner Picht. Translated from the German by Lilian A. Cowell. (Bell & Sons. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is the first scientific history of the Settlement Movement. Dr. Picht gives a beautiful sketch of Arnold Toynbee, and describes the work carried on in East London with much detail. There is no account of 'the Mother of Settlements' to compare with this. It is followed by a description and criticism of the Settlement Movement in Great Britain, and an excellent sketch of each settlement. The page devoted to Dr. Scott Lidgett's work in Bermondsey gives a bird's-eye view of all the activities of that Settlement. It is the

most complete study of the subject yet written, and Dr. Picht tries to show how the special difficulties of the movement may be met. Every Settlement worker will be proud that such a book has been written, and will be well repaid by a careful study of its suggestions.

*A Long Pilgrimage.* By Rev. I. E. Page. (C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.) In this delightful autobiography there are some things that may well appear trivial to sophisticated eyes, and many that do not rise above the level of experience in an ordinary Wesleyan minister's life, but, conspicuous throughout there shines a kindly, genial, gracious personality, and the narrative is full of incidents that will amuse and edify both old and young. Many ministers and laymen come into it that have made the Methodist history of the period that it covers, and the glimpses that we get of them are both pleasing and instructive. The author is himself one of the most saintly and congenial companions one could wish for, and, as he relates the story of his long and serviceable pilgrimage, one cannot fail to catch the inspiration of his fresh and vigorous spirit, and to be attracted to the source of his perennial youth. It is impossible in a brief notice to set forth all the attractions of the volume, but, in cordially commending it, we may add that it is not only a 'human document' that will appeal to all, but a record of Christian experience and life that will be of not a little service to the student of religion and psychology.—*The Life Work of Samuel Rolles Driver.* (Clarendon Press. 6d. net.) Dr. Sanday's beautiful tribute to his old colleague was given in a sermon at Christ Church Cathedral. 'The Bible and the Home were the two centres of his being, and in both he had the fullest satisfaction.' Canon Sanday regards his friend as 'the greatest asset that the Oxford of his generation has to show.' It is a tribute worthy of the master who uttered it, as well as of the colleague whose work it so lovingly describes.—*A Little Biography of the Maharaja of Baroda* (Madras: Natesan. 4 annas) gives an interesting account of his selection as the future ruler of the State, and his training for his high position. The way in which the illiterate lad from a farmer's hut has developed into a strong-minded and enlightened ruler is very impressively brought out. The Gaekwar has laboured to relieve industry of undue burdens, to revive decadent trades and establish new ones; he has sought to prepare his people for autonomy, to break down the tyranny of priestcraft, and to raise the position of the pariahs. European readers will find the booklet very instructive, though the Durbar incident has left an unpleasant memory.—*Lacked ye Anything? A Brief Story of the Egypt General Mission.* By George Swan. (Morgan & Scott. 1s. 6d. and 1s.) In 1898 the first five workers of the Egypt Mission Band arrived in Alexandria. They set themselves to learn Arabic, and embraced every opportunity for Christian service. Many thousand copies of Dr. Rouse's tract, 'Which of the Two, Mohammed or Christ?' were sent to 'notables throughout the whole of Egypt.' The story of the mission is full of interest, and its network is spreading far and wide.



## GENERAL

*The Every Age Library.* (Kelly. 10d. net.)

The first twenty volumes of this Library are before us, and abundantly justify its name. The tastes of young and old are skilfully met, and a strong appeal is made to lovers of poetry and adventure, to those who want a stirring biography or book of travel, and to that wider circle that always welcomes a pleasant companion for a leisure hour. William Arthur's masterpiece, *The Tongue of Fire*, which has had a phenomenal sale, and a world-wide influence, stands beside a skilfully abridged edition of *John Wesley's Journal*; near these are the three volumes of Dante translated by J. W. Thomas with a valuable introduction and copious notes. Cobbett's *Rural Rides* are unrivalled for their descriptions of rural scenery and of British farming a century ago. Every Englishman ought to have this edition on his shelves. A well-printed *Pilgrim's Progress* is sure to be popular, and Dr. Ballard's *Does Faith Need Reasons?* shows how Christianity appeals to our intelligence. It is full of high enthusiasm and confidence in the triumph of faith. General Gordon is one of our saints and heroes, and his *Life* by Miss Keeling will be an inspiration to every reader. *The Call of the Pacific* was written for the Laymen's Missionary Movement in Australia, and is a wonderful record of work among cannibals. *Through Two Campaigns* describes a chaplain's experience of the famous march to Kandahar in 1879, and of the Egyptian war of 1882, which ended with the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. *Four Thousand Miles Across Siberia* is a stirring record of a journey from Vladivostock to Europe, along the great post road. Seven of the volumes are lighter literature of the best sort: *Grimm's Fairy Tales*, with full-page illustrations, *Tom Brown's School-days*, *Little Women and Good Wives*, *The Coral Island*, show how young readers have been kept in view, whilst for the elders there is *Peveril of the Peak*, with illustrations, *David Copperfield*, packed with clear type into one volume, and the thrilling temperance story, *Danesbury House*. Such a set of books will be welcomed in every family library, and ought to find their way into every Sunday school. The handy size of the volumes, their linen-grained red cloth covers, the decorated title pages, and end papers all combine to make this Library a marvel of cheapness and good taste. It ought to be one of the most popular Libraries of the day, and we are glad to know how thoroughly it is establishing itself in public favour.

The second instalment of this Library is as well selected and as variously attractive as the first. Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* has been carefully edited so that it may be put into all hands, and has a brief biography which will make the poetry and the poet more interesting. *Gulliver's Travels* will never lose their charm, nor will

those classics, *Adam Bede*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Peg Woffington*. Victor Hugo's *Toilers of the Sea* is a delightful story of the Channel Islands; Dr. Gordon Stables' *Shadowed for Life* has excitements enough and to spare; Jules Verne's *Round the World in Eighty Days* is full of life and adventure; *From Log Cabin to White House* is a fine biography, and Ainsworth's *Preston Fight* will be read with eager interest. Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* is another favourite that is included. *Our Entrance into Hunan* describes how missionary work began in this Chinese province; *The Early Journal of Charles Wesley* is a treasure; Dr. Downes' *Hours with the Immortals* appeals to lovers of poetry, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is one of the famed Arthurian romances now at last put within the reach of every working household in the country. Another edition of *Gulliver's Travels* (Kelly, 2s.), with coloured frontispiece and decorated covers, will make a capital reward book.

Messrs. Constable are issuing a uniform edition of Maarten Maarten's stories in crown octavo volumes, neatly bound in ribbed green cloth, and printed in pleasant type (8s. 6d. each). The first volumes are: *The Sin of Joost Avelingh*, *An Old Maid's Love*, *God's Fool*, *The Greater Glory*, *My Lady Nobody*, *Her Memory*, *A Question of Taste*, and *Some Women I have Known*. The writer, J. M. W. van der Poorten Schwarz, was born in Amsterdam in 1858, and spent part of his boyhood in England. His novels are written in clear, crisp English, and are concerned with domestic life, with cases of conscience, love affairs, and those incidents which make up the history of most lives. *Her Memory* is a poignant story of a young wife's death, and the way in which her husband and daughter lingered on the past till it almost spoiled the present. It is a gracious story, and every reader will be thankful when Lady Mary Hunt comes to the rescue. The other stories are laid in Holland, and have a microscopic style which well befits such an environment. *The Sin of Joost Avelingh* is a study of conscience that is almost morbid, and each of the stories has its moral or social problem, which is skilfully worked out. *God's Fool*, which won the author a great reputation in this country, shows how a step-brother, who is blind and deaf, affects the lives of his younger brothers. He has the wealth of the family, and the tragedy at the end is not unexpected. *The Greater Glory* has a pair of young folk to whom every reader's heart grows warm, and *My Lady Nobody*, the pastor's daughter, who marries Otto van Helmont, is a fine character. *A Question of Taste* is the story of a bachelor's courtship—a real Dutch interior. *Some Women I have Known* is a set of twelve short character studies that show the difference between good and bad women. 'John' is one of the best, and 'The Duchess Eleanor' is a skilled piece of work. The quiet force and the healthy tone of the stories make them very pleasant reading, and the new edition will win the writer many new admirers.

*Concise Dante Dictionary.* By Paget Toynbee, M.A., D.Lit. (Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

This work is based on Dr. Toynbee's *Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, which was published in 1898, and is not out of print. It is intended as a handbook to the Oxford edition of Dante. All the articles have been revised and brought up to date, and a certain number of new articles added, dealing with persons and places mentioned in the poetical correspondence between Dante and Forese Donati, and in the Latin poems addressed to Dante by Giovanni del Virgilio. By condensation in the wording of the articles, and the omission of summaries in dealing with episodes in the *Divina Commedia*, of less important articles, and some controversial matters, the Dictionary has been reduced in size, whilst all essential information is included. More than eight pages are given to Dante's biography and his place in his own works. The three columns devoted to Beatrice are a marvel of condensation, and the three which deal with St. Thomas Aquinas show how the influence of his *Summa Theologia* pervades the *Commedia*. The article on Florence brings out another side of the Dictionary. It is a real boon for all students of Dante, and the way in which it is printed and got up is worthy of the Clarendon Press.

*The World Set Free.* By H. G. Wells. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Mr. Wells almost takes our breath away by this description of the world's quest of power. He traces it back in a few striking pages to the outset of man's 'terrestrial career.' When man began to think the mammoths were doomed, and the snare was set that was at last to catch the sun. In 1916 the boy Holstein, to be known by a whole generation of scientific men as 'the greatest of European chemists,' was studying fireflies at Fiesole. At the same time a professor in Edinburgh was lecturing on radium and radio-activity, whilst a 'chuckle-headed, scrub-haired lad from the Highlands' makes a running comment of delightful amazement and steps out to tell the sun 'We'll have ye yet.' Holstein solved the great problem 'of inducing radio-activity in the heavier elements and so trapping the internal energy of atoms,' in 1933. His quest and his triumph are described as only Mr. Wells could describe them. Twenty years later the first Holstein-Roberts engine takes the place of the steam engine. The Steel Trust scraps its plant, railway engines are useless. *Frederick Barnet's Wander Jahre* is invented to depict this world transformation, and it is an astounding record. Then follows a still more marvellous account of 'The Last War' and of 'The Ending of War.' A World Republic was formed, and in its first stage religion seemed to be suspended. Marcus Karenin brings it back into the texture of human life. 'He saw religion without hallucinations, without superstitious reverence, as a common thing as necessary as food and air, as land and energy to the life of man and the well-being of the Republic.'

Karenin and his opinions fill the last part of a book that staggers imagination.

*The War of Steel and Gold.* By H. N. Brailsford. (Bell. 5s. net.)

*Minimum Rules in the Chain-Making Industry.* By R. H. Tawney. (Bell. 1s. 6d. net.)

*Christianity and The Social Creed of the Churches.* By H. F. Ward. (Eaton & Mains. 50c. net.)

*Economic Science.* By W. Cunningham, D.D. (Murray. 2s. 6d. net.)

*Social Work in London, 1869-1912. A History of the Charity Organization Society.* By Helen Bosanquet. (Murray. 8s. net.)

*The Sovereign People.* By Daniel Dorchester, Jun. (Eaton & Mains. 1\$ net.)

*The Land, Vol. II, Urban.* (Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. net.)

Mr. Brailsford finds the restless competition among the Powers to export capital to undeveloped countries the ultimate explanation of their rivalry in diplomacy and armaments. In the first part of his work he deals with the balance of power. In his view danger arises when a nation declares that it is being 'penned in' and threatened by a policy of 'encirclement.' The Continental rivalries have their permanent monument in the National Debts of the Powers which have engaged in them, 'in their military and naval budgets, and in their burden of taxation. "Real politics" are discussed in a pungent chapter, and 'The Egyptian model' is taken as an illustration of the disturbance caused by the movement of capital. The second part of the book is 'Constructive.' Mr. Brailsford argues that the conduct of foreign affairs should be brought under a mechanism of democratic control. He thinks that a classified register of foreign enterprises, loans and investments, might be so contrived as 'to deprive all undesirable ventures of official countenance, and to handicap them in their appeals to the investing public.' 'It is not national necessities but class-interests which condemn us to the armed peace.' When the nations realize this the fears which fill our barracks will vanish. 'A clear-sighted generation will scan the horizon and find no enemy. It will drop its armour, and walk the world's highways safe.' That is Mr. Brailsford's vision, or is it but a dream?—Mr. Tawney's study is the first of a series of volumes which will examine some attempts that have been made to establish and enforce minimum rates of payment. The chain-making industry was the first to establish such a minimum, and its confined area makes it somewhat easy to examine. Its organization is explained, and the results of previous

inquiries are considered. The Trade Board began its work in 1910, and its effects on all conditions of employment and on the manufacture of chain are instructively brought out. The weekly earnings of both men and women have increased, and the general standard of life in the district has risen. The Ratan Tata foundation of the University of London, under whose auspices the study is published, is to be congratulated on a piece of work that will bear good fruit.—Archdeacon Cunningham delivered these five lectures at the London School of Economics. He has sought to concentrate attention on the history of Thought. An illuminating comparison is drawn between Mediaeval Christendom, when human activities and intercourse were dominated by religion, and the Society of to-day, in which political and economic life have been secularized. One lecture is given to monastic life, which was a Christian Communism, another discusses the city and the nation as economic units, and a third deals with 'Calvinism and Capital.' The 'Wealth of Nations' enables us to note the revolution that has taken place since the days of Thomas Aquinas. The best hope for reasserting the dignity of human life and returning economic activities to due subservience lies in framing an ideal of the fullest life that is possible for mankind, and in working towards it as best we can. There are many temptations to selfishness, many plausible excuses for shirking responsibility, but those who habitually bring faith in Christ or in Humanity to bear on their daily conduct as citizens, will be encouraged to hope for the realization of a distant ideal, and ready to forgo the prospect of a personal reward. The study is one of living interest for all.—In 1908 the American churches adopted a 'Social Creed' of which Mr. Ward's book is a terse and illuminating interpretation. Each chapter deals with a special section of that document, and closes with a series of questions intended to guide local workers in their investigation of the conditions in their own neighbourhood. A list of books is also given for fuller study. The first edition was prepared by a group of writers, and Mr. Ward has worked over their material and produced a view of the whole field of social service which will guide local effort and show how much wisely directed work may do to promote the general well-being.—Dr. Bosanquet's volume brings us into close touch with the problem of poverty in London, and with the chief attempts that have been made to grapple with it. Mrs. Bosanquet gives prominence to the principles which the Charity Organization Society has sought to translate into action, and shows how these have developed, and been applied under varying circumstances. A description of London fifty years ago forms a sombre background to the study. There were then at least 100,000 children 'destitute of proper guardianship, and exposed for the most part to the training of beggars and thieves.' The Charity Organization Society began its work in 1869, with little money but with a rich store of ideas and of enthusiasm. Marylebone had the first District Committee, and there Miss Octavia Hill and Lord Lichfield rendered conspicuous service. The history of the Society is sketched in the first part of the volume; the second part



describes the problems it has had to face and the methods adopted in grappling with them. The criticism of the Social work of the Salvation Army, and of the Mansion House Fund of 1886 is instructive, and shows how much wisdom is needed in dealing with exceptional distress. This is a book which all workers among the poor will find profoundly interesting, and from which they will gain much help in their own work.—Mr. Dorchester's story of Social progress has a force and freshness of its own. The writer sees that 'conservatism and progressiveness have each their virtues and limitations' and recognizes that 'a Power transcending all classes, parties, and even governments is continually at work in the Soul of Society, instilling new ideals and bodying forth in multitudinous forms of economic, moral, and spiritual well-being.' Human progress cannot be explained apart from this supernatural factor. Old oppressions like slavery and feudalism, modern evils like American plutocracy, are vigorously denounced, and a constructive programme is offered. 'We have no right to spend money as we please,' whilst 'causes dear to the heart of God and bound up in the welfare of humanity' are suffering for lack of proper support. Mr. Dorchester thinks that 'the energies of the Christian Churches are altogether too much expended in caring for their ecclesiastical preserves.' The book will be eagerly read, and will bear fruit.—The Urban section of the Report of the Land Inquiry Committee deals with housing, acquisition of land, tenure, and rating, and gives the conclusions and recommendations of the small committee appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is full of facts and figures which every student of these problems will find indispensable for his own inquiries. 'The nation is being rapidly urbanized.' In 1851 only half the population of England and Wales lived in urban areas, now four-fifths do so, and the proportion increases year by year. The Committee has done its work with great thoroughness, and their report deserves the closest attention.

*Collected Essays of Rudolf Eucken.* Edited and translated by Meyrick Booth, Ph.D. With a portrait of the author. (T. F. Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.)

Only three of these essays have previously appeared in English. They throw a variety of interesting sidelights on Prof. Eucken's Activism, and add to our knowledge of his mind and thought. He says in a brief preface that 'although the problems in question are handled from the German standpoint, they are, in themselves, of universal human interest; while the personalities dealt with belong to the literature of the whole world.' Dr. Meyrick Booth's own preface is an admirable summary of Eucken's teaching and shows how these Essays bear upon it. The nineteen essays cover a wide range. Religion and civilization, the moral forces in the life of to-day, the status of religion in Germany, Kant's philosophy, Goethe and other subjects are all dealt with, but amid the variety a single

fundamental conviction finds expression. An independent spiritual life is regarded 'as the ultimate basis of the whole of reality, and as the sole principle capable of explaining the sum of our human experience.' Each essay throws light on the working of this master principle. Dr. Booth has done his work well, and the volume will be greatly appreciated by students of Eucken.

*Lectures on Moral Philosophy.* By John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D. (Milford. 6s. 6d. net.)

This is the first in a series of reprints of the works of early American philosophers. Projected by the American Philosophical Association, they are to be issued under its auspices by the institutions with which their authors were specially connected. Dr. Witherspoon went out to America in 1768 as President of the College of New Jersey at Princeton, and took an active part in the struggle for independence. For several years he was a member of the Continental Congress. He had a large share in the formation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and was appointed its first Moderator. His Lectures were printed after his death from notes made by undergraduates, and though he cannot be ranked as a creative philosopher, he was the 'first college head in America to set forth in his class room lectures a definite system of ethics.' He stoutly opposed Berkeley's idealism, and introduced in its stead the realism of the Scottish common-sense school, which became the traditional philosophy at Princeton. The Introductory sketch is excellent, and the lectures themselves are well arranged and forcibly put. Dr. Witherspoon sees 'more in the obligation of virtue than merely our greatest happiness. The moral sentiment itself implies that it is duty independent of happiness.' The treatment of politics, social life and civil society and kindred topics is well worth study. The series promises to be of real value, and many will be grateful to the American Philosophical Association for projecting it.

*The Fellowship Books* (Batsford, 2s. net) are one of the choicest series of the day, both in get-up and in the subjects dealt with. The third set of titles: Love, the Meaning of Life, Nature, Trees, Flowers, Poetry, and the names of the writers: Gilbert Cannan, W. L. Courtney, W. H. Davies, Eleanor Farjeon, J. Foord and Arthur Quiller-Couch, make a strong appeal, and the way in which the books are written makes them delightful companions for a leisure hour. Mr. Courtney's view of life as a means of helping God to carry out His purposes is inspiring—a plea for religion which all must feel. The empire of love is beautifully described by Mr. Cannan, 'The beginning and the end are in Love, and Love is in all that lies between.' We wish he had left out two or three passages which will hurt religious readers. Poetry is an enchanted world, and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch leads us about among its wonders in a way that makes them still more wonderful. The three books on Nature, Trees, and Flowers have

caught the charm of the subjects of which they treat, and will bring it home to every reader. Mr. Davies gives some pleasant little Nature pictures; the book on *Flowers* has much interesting lore about their names and uses. Miss Farjeon's *Trees* is somewhat discursive. We wish she had given us some facts and a little less rhapsody.

*Sophocles in English Verse.* By Arthur S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan. 3s. 6d. net.)

With this volume Dr. Way completes his translation of the plays of Sophocles; and it is adequate praise to say that it is no whit inferior in workmanship to its predecessor. As an indefatigable translator of the classics, Dr. Way is without a rival, and his special merits are as noteworthy as his diligence. We have tested his version of the *Ajax* with some care and have found it both felicitous and accurate. Occasionally there is a passage which the English reader will have to read twice owing to the compression necessitated by the line for line method adopted by the translator; but for the most part the sense is lucid, in spite of Dr. Way's *penchant* for archaic words like 'despiteous,' and the rendering faithful. There are also phrases which seems almost inspired for their poetic fitness and beauty. For example, Ajax is thus described by the poet—*θολερῶ κείται χεῖμωνι νοστήσας*; and Dr. Way's rendering is

Asia, the lord of rugged might,  
Low-lieth, stricken by a spirit-storm,  
By whirling mists of night.

The whole version deserves the attention of English readers who, ignorant of Greek, desire to acquaint themselves with the masterpieces of ancient literature.

*The Golden Reciter, Prose and Verse for Reading and Recitation.*

*The Golden Humorous Reciter, Prose and Verse. For Reading and Recitation.*

*The Pilgrim's Way.* By A. T. Quiller-Couch. (Seeley & Co. 3s. 6d., 5s.)

Both these reciters have introductions by Mr. Cairns James which give many practical hints for beginners. Real difficulties are met, and wise advice is given as to the choice of a recitation. An attempt has been made in the collections to break new ground and draw from fresh sources. Well-known authors are freely represented, and besides the contents there are four indexes of authors, books, titles and first lines. The selection has been made with a view to the pleasure of an audience. There is great variety, and pieces grave and gay are well mixed. The moderns have the largest share of attention, but the classic masters are not forgotten. The *Humorous Reciter* is divided into six groups, satire, drama, serio-comic, poems for children,

farical and general humorous prose and verse. Two selections in verse and one in prose are given from Ellen Thornycroft Fowler. F. Anstey, W. S. Gilbert, A. W. Pinero, Mark Twain and other masters are all represented, and will bring pleasant mirth into every circle. The small crown edition (5s.) is a very handy volume.

*The Pilgrim's Way* is 'a little Scrip of Good Counsel for Travelers' chosen by Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch with true discernment both of literary merit and spiritual significance. It begins with childhood and youth, it ends with age and death. It has sections on marriage and children, on house and garden; every side of life seems to be represented by some passage from the great teachers of all ages.

*The Training of Sunday School Teachers and Officers.* By Franklin McElfresh. (Eaton & Mains. 75c. net).

This is a most timely volume, and forms a valuable addition to the series of 'Modern Sunday School Manuals.' It shows the vast opportunity of service in a department which needs about one hundred thousand recruits annually, and brings out very impressively the task that lies before such workers. Mr. McElfresh is an expert who speaks with authority and gives many wise counsels as to methods of training teachers and officers. The 'Suggestions' at the end of each chapter are excellent, and the possibilities for teacher-training work in various types of churches are pointed out in a way that will give many ministers and office-bearers courage to undertake such service.

*Monksbridge.* By John Ayscough. (Chatto & Windus, 6s.) Mrs. Auberon is a curate's widow with twin daughters and a son. Sylvia is the clever girl, and her marriage to Lord Monksbridge and all her ambitions are almost uncannily described. Marjory is thrown a good deal into the background, but she has a nice wit and a strong character, and her brother Perkin is her great chum. Mrs. Auberon herself marries a bishop, though Perkin makes everything difficult by becoming a Roman Catholic. The book leans to his side, but it is very clever and full of humorous situations. A very bright companion for a leisure hour.—*Roding Rectory.* By Archibald Marshall. (Stanley Paul & Co., 6s.) This is a story that should help Churchmen and Nonconformists to understand each other better. The rector's wife and family are delightful, and George Barton, the curate, soon wins respect and affection, but Dr. Merrow, the Nonconformist, is the fine flower of charity, and the way that he handles his chief deacon Gosset is delicious. The young folk are charming, and the double incident which forms the plot, though it is unpleasant and unfit for family reading, is skilfully handled. It is a book that one finds it difficult to lay down, and it teaches some much-needed lessons.—*Lorna Doone* is a charming addition to *The World's Classics* (Milford, 1s. net), and Dr. Warren's account of the book and its author will make those who have other editions of the classic eager to set this

beside them. He enjoyed the novelist's friendship, and gives many little facts which show that he was a true scholar and a fine Christian gentleman. His portrait bears out Dr. Warren's tribute, and the poem addressed to Mr. Blackmore adds a touch of completeness to the edition. It is altogether a most attractive little volume which ought to have a wide circulation.—*The Shepherd of Skiddaw and other Stories*. By Sadler Reece (Kelly, 2s. 6d.). These are forcible sketches. The old shepherd who hears the Methodist preacher is a pathetic study, and 'Communing in the Woods,' and 'the School-master' have a power and beauty of their own. Such a set of stories would be warmly welcomed for reading in Mothers' Meetings.—*The Cruise of the 'Rattler'*, by Ernest Richards (Kelly, 3s. 6d.), is a story of privateering on the Spanish main. The Liverpool lad who runs away to sea as stowaway on a privateer sees some rough sides of life. It is a boy's book with adventures, and fighting, and hurricanes which will carry a young reader on to the end with breathless interest. Mr. Richards knows the sea, and his description of Captain Raven's escape from a Yankee and a Frenchman is thrilling.—*More about Froggy*. By Brenda. (Religious Tract Society, 2s.) A very pretty story of a waif and his patron. Admiral Sir John Honeydew is delightful, and Froggy does credit to his friend by growing into a manly, earnest fellow.—*John Strong: A Modern Nonconformist Member*. By John Howe. (Stock, 1s. net.) We should be sorry if this were a true picture. John Strong breaks away from his Nonconformist traditions and proves himself a hard master and a selfish man. A motor accident takes him off the scene, though he is granted a few hours for putting things right, and nothing about him is more becoming than the way he uses them. There is a good moral to the story.—Mr. Unwin is issuing a new edition of the famous *Pseudonym Library* (1s. net). Six volumes have appeared in neat dark blue covers with gilt decorated backs. Some of the writers who first appeared in this series have gained a world-wide reputation, and their books will have a warm welcome in this cheap and attractive edition. *The Home of the Dragon*, a Tonquinese idyll in seven chapters, is a powerful sketch of life in the East, and *Otilie*, by Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), is an eighteenth-century idyll, with an old-world touch about it.

**18,000 Words often Mispronounced.** By W. H. P. Phyfe. (Putnam's Sons. 6s. net.)

This book first appeared in 1889, and proved so valuable that 114,000 copies have been sold. It has been enlarged in various editions. The first had 7,000 words; that of 1908 had 12,000. Now it has 18,000, yet by the use of new type it only has 14 more pages and weighs an ounce and a half less than the former edition. Mr. Phyfe has practically rewritten the work, and in many instances has changed the pronunciation in accordance with the usage of the best modern dictionaries. There is no book quite like it, and it will be a great gain



to every family to have it in constant use. We have proved its value in successive editions, and hope that it will now become more popular than ever.

*Hall's Circuits and Ministers.* Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by T. Galland Hartley. (Methodist Publishing House. 6s. net.)

This is a list of all the Methodist circuits in Great Britain, with the name of every minister who has been stationed in them, and also in all the departmental offices. It first appeared in 1873, and in 1897 a third edition was issued with an appendix. In the present edition every list is made complete and continuous. The Editor, his son, and the Rev. C. L. Tabraham have had a very heavy task, but they have produced an edition which will be of untold service to historical students and to every circuit and department in Methodism. It is an invaluable record, the interest of which is practically inexhaustible.

*Down the Year.* By C. Du Fay Robertson. (Eaton & Mains, 1s net.) To the writer of this book the year is 'a pathway of delight.' He loves his country walks and enters into all the wonders of Nature in a way that is quite infectious. Every season brings its own pleasure. 'A lightning flash while the night rain falls is a spectacle of staggering beauty.' Mr. Robertson's book will teach others to love trees and birds and flowers, and will open their minds to wonder and praise. The six full-page illustrations really add to the charm of the book and so do its dainty covers.—*Blossom Babies.* By M. Louise Chadwick, M.D. (Eaton & Mains, 75c. net) is an attempt 'to tell the Life Story to little children.' It shows how plants are fertilized, and opens the door into that fascinating world of life. The botanical facts are very clearly stated and illustrated by diagrams. Suggestions are also given for outdoor study. A set of spring, summer, and autumn stories follow which bring children to the verge of the difficult subject. Dr. Chadwick does her work with skill and discrimination.—*A Man's Reach.* By Charles E. Locke. (Eaton & Mains, 1s net.) Mr. Locke's 'character ideals' are dedicated to his congregation at Los Angeles. He defines character as 'the fine art of giving up,' and writes about 'Ideals and what they cost,' 'Heroism in everyday life,' 'The human hand,' 'A cheerful countenance,' and kindred subjects with apt illustration and incident, and many a wise suggestion for character building. Such meditations will not only brighten a leisure hour but will also enrich life and hallow conduct.—*John Bunyan and his Pilgrims.* Lectures by Edward Lloyd Jones. (Kelly, 6d. net.) Dr. Johnson said the *Pilgrim's Progress* grew shorter every time he read it. That is what we feel about these lectures. They are the work of one who knew the period and loved the book, and they are full of insight and discrimination. A brief memoir adds much to the interest with which one reads the lectures. It is a little book in which every lover of Bunyan will

delight.—*Gleanings from the Works of George Fox*. By Dorothy M. Richardson. (Headley Brothers, 1s. net.) These gleanings are of great interest. 'Narrative Passages' come first, then we have 'Special Testimonies' on such subjects as business life, the inward light, sin, slavery, war, women. The third part includes words on social life and general exhortations. The editor has made her selections with skill, and her Introduction adds much to the charm of a gracious little book.—*Visions of the People* (Dent & Sons, 1d.) is a translation from Lammenais' *Words of a Believer*. A brief sketch of the book and its writer is given as an Introduction. The little book is full of the enthusiasm of humanity.—*Omar or Christ*. By N. B. Ridley. (Eaton & Mains, 25c. net.) A quotation from Omar Khayyam, "There was the Door to which I found no key," is the motto for this poem. Death meets us first in his terrors, then Christ brings immortality to light. The idea is impressively and helpfully worked out in this striking poem.—*Sea-side Wonders and How to Identify Them*. By S. N. Sedgwick, M.A. (Kelly, 1s. net.) No pocket companion for the seaside could be more welcome than this. It has 24 full-page illustrations, and sea-weeds, crabs, shells and all the treasures of the shore are described by an expert. It is a little guide that will please older folk as much as boys and girls.—*The New Zealand Official Year-book* for 1913 is packed with statistics about the Dominion. A sketch of the new Parliament Buildings at Wellington as they will appear when completed is given as a frontispiece, and there is also a short description of them.—*The Official Year-book of the Church of England*, 1914. (S.P.C.K., 3s.) The Rev. F. H. Burnside has edited this year-book with skill and judgement. There is no record that so completely covers the field of operations at home and abroad. Ordinations show a slight decline, 670 as compared with 686, but confirmations were 239,018, an increase of 4,538.

## Periodical Literature

### BRITISH

THE two literary articles in the April Quarterly Review are 'George Sand,' by Mr. Henry James, based on the third volume of Madame Vladimir Karénine's recent biography, and 'Milton and Vaughan,' by Louise Imogen Guiney. The writer of the latter shows that Vaughan's pages 'betray a scholarly sensitiveness to the literary world of his day,' and that his work is 'a record not only of his spiritual history in relation to his times, but of the times themselves.' She thinks that 'Vaughan may have been conscious of Milton in every fibre of his being,' and brings much evidence to show that 'such was the case.' Vaughan was a royalist, for instance, and she thinks that perhaps we may find a personal allusion in the lines of his poem, 'The King Disguised':—

Ride safely in His shade who gives thee light,  
And can with blindness thy pursuers smite.

Whether these diatribes are rightly to be charged to the 'Silurist' or not, is a matter for experts; in any case, the article breaks new ground and opens the way for much interesting discussion. This number has two valuable and timely papers on 'The Philosophy of Rudolf Eucken,' the first by Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, and the second by the Rev. W. R. Boyce Gibson. The former criticizes Activism, and, in the course of his remarks, observes that, 'Like love, a full activity is a fine thing, but it is not a theory of itself. And if we look for its essence in its own reflective ideas, we misconceive the energy, and what we gain is not philosophy. Therefore, his doctrine, in spite of its great central merit, and the nobility of its aim, leaves us cold. What we want is a more free, pure, and continuous cognition, and because of that, and by its means, life-systems more concrete and actual, revealed by a completer analysis and a broader sympathy.' Mr. Gibson responds in effect that 'Philosophy, as Eucken conceives it, is no mere reflection upon life, as though life were of itself complete without the reflection. It is rather a vital function of our spiritual activity. It is that form of spiritual vitality which brings to coherent expression the intuitions of experience. As such we welcome it, and Eucken's own exposition of it in particular, as the most suitable rallying-point for the deeper thought of the day.' Other notable articles are 'The Letters of Thomas Gray,' by the President of Magdalen, and 'Lloyd's and Insurance,' a most instructive paper, by Mr. Cuthbert Maughan, who gives a general impression of the services rendered to commerce by the underwriting community, and of the life led

by the underwriters and brokers. The management of Lloyd's, it appears, rests ultimately with a committee of twelve elected members. Underwriting members have to pay an entrance fee, usually amounting to £400. The annual subscription is twenty guineas. There are about 650 members, and the sum invested by the committee exceeds seven millions. The article bristles with interesting facts, such, e.g. as that 'racehorses are sometimes insured for as much as £80,000.'

The Dean of Durham's article on 'Kikuyu,' in the April-June Edinburgh Review, looks at the questions raised from the broad evangelical point of view, and, though it may now seem, like the Catholic paper in the *Dublin*, a little belated, it is full of permanent interest and value. In the course of an informing paper on 'The Oxford Dictionary,' Prof. J. Hoops observes that, 'After thirty-five years' incessant toil the completion of the gigantic work can now be said to be within reach of the eye. Only parts of S and T, and the whole of the letters U to Z remain to be done. We may look forward to the completion of the work in some five or six years. Already the number of words recorded in the Dictionary is 328,319, while the number of illustrative quotations is 1,426,379. Sir James Murray is now seventy-seven years old and still in full health. Dr. Bradley is sixty-eight, Dr. Craigie forty-six.' M. d'Auguste Barbier is described by Mr. Edmund Gosse, in an article on 'A French Satirist in England,' as 'a poet of revolution in a very bad temper,' and his satire on England is described as 'extravagant and unjust.' 'A young man of five-and-twenty, he reeled on to the scene of Paris in a state of feverish exaltation, intoxicated with extravagant democracy, and waving a lighted torch in his hand. The wood of public opinion blazed at once, for it was absolutely ready for conflagration.' Such a man, in such a temper, 'could not be expected to visit England without expatiating on the exclusion of Byron from the national Valhalla. . . .' Dr. R. R. Marett has an elaborate article on all the seven parts of Dr. Frazer's 'Golden Bough' full of critical appreciation and abounding in acute observations on the subject, 'Magic or Religion?' 'Religion,' says the writer, 'has been intellectualized as civilization has advanced, but whether the human heart has been moralized in like proportion is not so certain. At any rate, the savage or the little child may have something to teach the doctors, if the latter incline to suppose that theology is equivalent to religion, or are tempted to forget that knowledge is but the servant of desire and hope and faith.' Mr. De la Mare's quarterly *causerie* on 'Current Literature' deals at length with Prof. Verrall's 'Lectures on Dryden,' Mr. Henry James's 'Notes of a Son and Brother,' and Mr. de Sélincourt's study of 'Walt Whitman.' Of Whitman it is said, 'He possessed all the beautiful qualities of his defects.' Mr. de Sélincourt reveals with an ardour not the less impressive for being held in check the inchoate, surging poetical feeling there was in Whitman, and with what beauty and

mastery he sometimes expressed it. But he also endeavours—and very skilfully—to prove him a consummate artist. Latter-day innovators will argue the question out. Meanwhile, the shade of 'dear old Walt,' as friendly and lovable, and certainly as pictorial a figure as any in literature, awaits in patient ecstasy the coming of Spring. There is also a discriminating article by Mr. Orlo Williams on the Italian poet Carducci.

The April number of the *Dublin Review* opens with the first instalment of his impressions of 'A Visit to America' by the editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, under the auspices of the American Catholic Historical Society. Mr. Ward lectured throughout the States, and his impressions, though necessarily 'superficial and inaccurate,' are rich in varied interest and suggestion. In an article on Luther, based on Father Grisar's great work on the reformer, or, rather, on the first volume of that work, dealing with the early life of Luther, Mgr. Barnes is of opinion that 'it is the magnitude of the catastrophe which he caused, rather than the greatness of his own soul, which will prevent the name of Martin Luther from being forgotten so long as the world endures.' The paper dealing with the Kikuyu controversy is a little belated, but in it Mr. James Britten 'rubs in' the moral from the Roman point of view. There is also a useful literary paper on 'Rhythm and Colour in English Prose,' by Dom J. Chapman, expounding Professor Saintsbury's views on the subject and offering some original suggestions, such as that, 'In prose there is no metre, no recurrent beat, no regular repetition, no invariable system of feet, but there is phrasing only; just as in plain chant there is rhythm but not metre, phrasing but no bars.'

Students of natural history, and especially of bird life, will be greatly interested in a paper on 'Dramas of Bird-Life,' in the May Fortnightly, by Mr. J. Rudge Harding, who records many recent personal observations. He describes, for instance, what to most naturalists will be 'a phenomenon indeed'—a nightingale singing on the nest. The mother nightingale does not sing, therefore it must have been the male bird that he saw and heard, and the male bird is often said not to take part in the incubation of the eggs. Yet here is proof positive not only that the male nightingale will take his share in warming the eggs, but that he will, on occasion, sing whilst doing so, and, as the writer adds, 'We know that the male blackcap sings on the nest, so why not the nightingale?' In this particular case, after the young had been hatched, he one day heard lamentations near the nest, and saw a weasel stealing away through the underwood, and at once suspected a tragedy. 'Presently the bereaved father bird, his mouth full of grubs, flew to a twig a few feet from where I stood and sang a little stave which, at the moment, sounded even more sad than his cries. Did grief cause that song? If what I witnessed was not grief, then I have never seen it.' This is but a single specimen of an article that is full



of evidence that the human world is not the only one that has in it all the elements and actualities of tragedy and comedy. The subject is comparatively new, but it admits of endless illustration.

**Hibbert Journal (April).**—Dean Henson's article on 'Kikuyu' is frank and outspoken on the present duty of the Church of England, in relation to the issues raised by the Bishop of Zanzibar. He fears—and not without reason—that 'the tyranny of the zealous minority will mean the despotism of the Dead Hand.' Mr. R. H. Coats writes on 'The Sacraments and Unity,' hoping to find in 'symbols, ceremonies, and sympathies' a union which creeds and theologies cannot effect. We fear he is dreaming. The keenest controversies have gathered around the Sacrament of Communion, which ought to have proved a uniting bond. Professor Dixon's article on 'Inspiration' deals with literature and life rather than theology. It is none the less interesting for that. Professor Warfield, in 'The Twentieth Century Christ,' criticizes severely modern Kenotism, 'purely humanitarian conceptions of the person of Christ' and recent representatives of Ritschlianism, but the constructive elements that we look for in such an article as this are not forthcoming. Rev. B. H. Streeter's treatment of 'The Suffering of God,' while happily free from theological technicalities, is most suggestive. Other articles are, 'One Avenue to God,' by Rev. A. D. Martin, 'Criticism of Public Schools,' by the Head Master of Eton, and 'The Great Alternative,' by Rev. C. F. Dole.

**Journal of Theological Studies (April).**—Baron von Soden was a New Testament scholar of European reputation. His recent sudden death has aroused widespread regret and sympathy, and Dr. Sanday, in a brief notice, pays a deserved tribute to his memory. This is the more welcome and graceful because in the same number there appears a severe criticism of his great work on the Text of the New Testament, by Mr. H. C. Hoskier, who wrote before the death of the author. It is questionable whether von Soden's principles will stand the test of searching examination, but all biblical students regret the loss of an able scholar, whose labours in compilation have been almost herculean. The most important of the Notes and Studies is by Rev. T. W. Crafer on 'The Work of Porphyry against the Christians and its Reconstruction,' in which the writer criticizes Harnack's recently published theory on the subject. Other 'Notes' are on 'Psalms for the Feast of Tabernacles,' by H. St. J. Thackeray and Dr. W. E. Barnes, and on the Sixteenth Ode of Solomon, by H. M. Slee. Kittel's edition of the Odes is reviewed by Dom Conolly.

**The Holborn Review (April).**—The opening article is on the inevitable Kikuyu Conference, by John Forster. The writer holds that it points to 'the best, perhaps the only, possible way of moving towards Christian unity.' Dr. James Lindsay writes on the philosophy

of Nietzsche; Royce's 'Sources of Religious Insight' is interestingly reviewed by Mr. A. E. Reavley, and Mr. Edwin W. Smith contributes a lively article on 'The Sententious Wisdom of the African,' which, being interpreted, means the proverbs of the Baila tribe. Other articles are, 'J. B. and his Message,' by Henry Jeffs, and 'The True Basis of Church Membership,' by F. J. Sainty.

**The Expositor** (April and May).—Professor König's article showing the distinction between Image Worship and Idol Worship in the Old Testament as two quite separate things is instructive. Dr. Rendel Harris' 'New Points of View in Textual Criticism,' illustrates the way in which a dry and technical subject may be made of living interest. Opinions will differ as to the extent to which tampering with the text for dogmatic purposes has actually taken place. Mr. T. R. Glover's paper on 'The Call of God' is a study in 'Vocation,' full of thought and devout feeling. Prof. H. R. Mackintosh continues in these two numbers his valuable 'Studies in Eschatology,' and Dr. Garvie contributes two more of his serial articles, 'Notes on the Fourth Gospel.' Prof. Peake's tribute to Canon Driver pays due honour to a great English scholar, while more than hinting that he leaned unduly to the side of conservatism. Time will show. 'Christianity before the Gospels,' by Rev. G. E. French, and 'Religion and Philosophy,' by Professor Morgan, of Ontario, are suggestive papers.

**The Expository Times** (April and May).—Dr. Hastings' notes do not flag in interest. Two leading scholars who have recently passed away are here fittingly commemorated—Dr. C. A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, New York, in an article by Dr. H. P. Smith, one of his colleagues; and Dr. S. R. Driver, whose work is described by his successor in office, Prof. G. A. Cooke, D.D. Dr. Kennedy discusses the composition of Mark iv. 21–25 as a study in the Synoptic problem. Dr. Sayce writes on the archaeology of Genesis, and Canon MacCulloch on Coptic apocrypha. A number of Wesleyan Methodist writers contribute short articles to the May number. We notice the names of Revs. H. W. Shrewsbury, F. C. Hoggarth, E. Omar Pearson, and W. A. Cornaby. The articles on 'Recent Foreign Theology' are, as often, very helpful to British ministers who cannot themselves keep pace with current thought on the continent of Europe.

**Church Quarterly** (April).—'The Church and Rural Reform,' by Christopher Turner, thinks that the Church has been content with too small a sphere, and that if she is to keep her hold on the people she must 'march with the foremost and lend her aid to progress.' She should champion the cause of the small man and the struggling man. 'Opportunities for advancement must be created. And not only must it be easier for some to rise, but the standard of the great residuum must be raised too.' Dr. Headlam's 'Ecclesia Anglicana' defends the claim of the Church of England to comprehensiveness.

'The ideal Catholic Church of the future will preserve its historic church order, its creeds and its sacraments. Created, as it will be, by the coming together of all the various separated bodies, there will be no aspect or side, however unimportant, of church tradition which is not represented within its limits.'

**International Review of Missions** (April).—Dr. J. R. Mott writes on 'Present Possibilities of Co-operation in the Mission Field.' His recent visit to Asia has shown the urgent necessity of closer co-operation on the part of all the Christian forces if they are to meet successfully the present unprecedented situation throughout the Asiatic continent. Such co-operation is needed in securing a comprehensive survey of the field, in carrying on the work of evangelization, and in training native workers. The article, and indeed the whole number, is of vital interest.

**The Constructive Quarterly** (March).—Dr. Sanday's article, 'The Constructive Quarterly from Within,' seeks to estimate the service of this review as a real medium for making the different Christian confessions better known to each other. Mr. Temple's 'Education and Religion Among Working Men' and Mr. Herbert Stead's 'Labour Movement in Religion' are valuable and timely.

The May number of **The English Review** contains the concluding chapters of Mr. Wells's new novel, *The World Set Free*, and many other striking items, among which it is a pleasure to notice another charming and wonderful paper by M. Fabre, the great French naturalist. The paper is only a fragment, but it is full of observation and suggestion on the sense of direction in animals. The title of the paper is 'The Red Ants,' but it has a bearing on the migration of birds and on the ways of various insects, chiefly ants and wasps and spiders. It is a most delightful and instructive paper, and gives distinction even to a number full of varied attractions.

### AMERICAN

**American Journal of Theology** (April).—Prof. G. A. Coe writes the opening article on 'The Origin and Nature of Children's Faith in God'—a subject as fruitful as it is timely. We cannot summarize it, but Dr. Coe's psychological studies and habits of mind make him an interesting guide in a region that needs to be carefully surveyed. 'The Present Status of Liberal Theology in Germany' is discussed by Prof. Bornhausen, of Marburg. Analysis of religion abounds, especially in Germany, but it is possible to murder in order to dissect. A scholarly account of 'Canaanite Influence on the Religion of Israel' is given by Prof. L. B. Paton, of Hartford. An interesting article is contributed by Dr. E. F. Scott on 'The Significance of Jesus for Modern Religion in view of His Eschatological Teaching'—a burning subject, as all will recognize. The writer

thinks that our Lord—constantly spoken of and thought of as 'Jesus'—'availed Himself of the plastic forms of current eschatology,' and that by clothing His message in the apocalyptic imagery He gave it richness and comprehensiveness. It is for us to 'remold it' in accordance with our own needs and outlook. Other articles are on the 'Psychological Approach to Prophecy' and 'Widening the Church's Invitation.'

**Harvard Theological Review.**—An exceedingly interesting number (April) opens with an article on 'Social Progress and Religious Faith,' by Dr. Lyman, of Oberlin. So far from religion being 'mainly individual in its application,' it is held to be 'essentially a progressive, constructive, social force.' A survey of the history of religion, beginning with the prophets and ending with modern missions, supports the conclusion that 'individual and social salvation must go hand-in-hand in the thought and effort both of the Christian church and ministry and of the social worker.' The managing editor, Dr. Frederic Palmer, writes on 'A Crisis in the Church of England.' The reference is to the issues of Kikuyu, doctrinal as well as ecclesiastical. Stress is laid on one result of recent utterances: 'Broad churchmen have hitherto been content with diffusing an atmosphere throughout the community; they are now discovering that they must fight for their lives, and therefore organize.' As regards the controversy roused by the Kikuyu communion service, it is argued that the rubric of common sense should interpret the rubric of the confirmation service, and that the historical meaning of the latter is violated when it is made to refer to those who are not members of the Episcopal Church. 'This is a pre-Reformation rubric, which first appears in the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham in 1281. There were then no other religious bodies in view than the one Catholic Church. Nonconformists had not come into existence.' Dr. Palmer doubts whether this African incident will result, 'as the High Church prophets gloomily foretell, in the disruption of the Church of England.' The probability is, he thinks, that the custom inaugurated by the bishops of Mombasa and Uganda 'will be continued in these dioceses, and will spread here and there in other missionary jurisdictions. Gradually it may affect the more conservative Church at home.' A thoughtful and temperate article closes with a reminder that there is rising 'a wave of demand for union,' which is to be distinguished from uniformity and from organic unity. 'Spirit shapes body to its own ends'; therefore many who reject uniformity as an ideal look forward to the ultimate establishment of some form of organic unity. 'The incident in Africa was a result of the greater apprehension of the spirit of Christ, and it will do much to extend the understanding and apprehension of that spirit.'

**Princeton Theological Review** (April).—The chief feature of this number is an article of fifty pages by Dr. Warfield on 'Jesus' Alleged Confession of Sin'—an exhaustive examination of our

Lord's reply to the young ruler, given in Matt. xix., Mark x. and Luke xviii. The space allotted to the subject is not excessive, since far-reaching issues are involved, and Dr. Warfield's study of the history of exposition is of permanent value. His conclusion is that our Lord's object was 'not to glorify Himself, but God: not to give any instruction whatever as to His own person'; and 'in proportion as we wander away from this central thought' we misunderstand and misinterpret the passage. The only other article, besides review of books, is 'Assyriological Research during the Past Decade,' by Oswald T. Allis.

*Bibliotheca Sacra* (April).—The chief articles in the present number are 'The Minister in Politics,' by Karl F. Griser, 'Royce's Philosophy of Religion,' by Edwin S. Carr, 'Doctrine of the Catholic Church Touching Indulgences,' by Hugh Pope, and two articles on 'Pentateuchal Criticism' by Harold M. Wiener and Prof. Dahse. These last-named articles deserve attention as presenting views widely divergent from those of the dominant school of Old Testament criticism.

*Methodist Review* (New York) (March-April).—Chancellor Hamilton opens with a 'New Vision of the American University,' showing how Bishop Hurst's highly idealistic hopes and dreams of a Federal University might still be realized. Prof. Faulkner's article on 'Dante the Theologian,' Mr. S. G. Ayres' study of the 'Sources of American Methodist History,' and President Grose's appreciative account of F. D. Maurice, may also be mentioned. But where do transatlantic scholars get such words as 'dogmatization' and 'tergiversist,' both used in the titles found in the Table of Contents? The articles in smaller type are often not the least valuable in this review.

*Methodist Review* (Nashville) (April).—Dr. Gross Alexander has succeeded in getting an article from Rudolf Eucken for this number. It is brief but interesting. It deals with 'Mysticism, Old and New,' and is given both in English and in German. Prof. Rauschenbusch has a congenial theme in 'Belated Races and Social Problems.' A thoughtfully written article deals with a painful but necessary topic, 'Christian Leadership and the Social Evil,' by J. W. Shackford. Two interesting articles on poetical subjects are 'The Value of the Incomplete in Browning's Poetry,' by Alfred E. Kern, and 'Robert Bridges, the new Poet Laureate,' by James M. Dixon. Three other papers—'John Wesley as a Social Reformer,' 'The Problem of the Immigrant,' and 'Fifty Years of Freedom,' by Booker Washington—illustrate the variety and timeliness of the subjects dealt with in this able quarterly.

*The Review and Expositor* (Louisville) (April).—'The Influence of Christian Water-baptism According to the New Testament' is the title of the first article by Pastor Kittel, of Altencelle, Germany.



Rev. T. W. Whitley, of Preston, England, writes on 'The Higher Buddhism,' and Dr. H. W. Clark, also of this country, contributes a thoughtful paper on 'Scientific Re-statements of Religious Truth.' Another article deals with the 'Thoughtlife (*sic*) of the Masses of the New Testament,' while Dr. G. B. Eager gives an account of the Feminist Movement, and Dr. H. M. King criticizes Prof. Emerton's book, entitled 'Unitarian Thought,' under the title, 'Is it Christianity?'

### FOREIGN

Religion und Geisteskultur.—At the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Society, Professor James H. Leuba delivered an address on 'Theology and Psychology.' It is published in the April number of this journal, and its main purpose is to examine into the validity of the modern claim that theology is independent of science. As a psychologist, Professor Leuba points out that although theologians of the Ritschlian school speak of 'dependence on experience,' they do not mean a scientific analysis of the facts of consciousness, or a study of the conditions in which they originate; in a word, psychology as a science is not employed as a handmaid of theology. To those who maintain that God is transcendent and therefore inaccessible to science, the reply is that an Absolute Being, transcendent in the sense that He is exalted above all feeling, can never be the God of a vital religion. That relations subsist between theology and science appears from the following considerations: the gods of the various religions are known, in and through their working in the physical world or on men; for this reason they may with propriety be said to be subjects of scientific inquiry. The same assertion may be made in regard to the means and methods by which the human and the divine are brought into relation with each other. So far, therefore, as the doctrines of religion are concerned with the nature of the gods, the nature of man and the means and conditions of communion with God, theology cannot be said to be independent of religion. A comprehensive article on 'Present-day Problems in New Testament Criticism' is contributed by Dr. Hans Windische. Much importance is attached to Bousset's studies of the influence of Hellenism on Christianity. They are described as resting on a broader basis than those of Harnack. Exception is, however, taken to some of the conclusions of Bousset. That Jesus was regarded as 'Lord' in the earliest Christian society is evident from the Aramaic 'maranatha,' and from the use of Psalm cx., from the earliest times, as a hymn of praise to Jesus as Lord. In general, Bousset's enthusiasm for syncretistic analogies is said to have led to his under-estimating of the influence on Christology of the Old Testament and Jewish tradition. He refers to it in the chapters dealing with the doctrine of God, and with ethics and worship, but in discussing the development of Christology he does not refer to the Jewish teaching in regard to the wisdom of God. In reviewing Clemen's *The Influence of the Mystery-Religions*

on *Early Christianity*, Windische, expresses his agreement with the principle that, in investigating New Testament conceptions, inquiry should be directed in the first instance to the influence of the Old Testament and of Jewish tradition, not, however, to the exclusion of Hellenistic thought.

*Theologische Rundschau*.—In the April number Dr. Johannes Wendland writes on the 'Schleiermacher Renaissance,' and asserts that its motto is not Back to Schleiermacher, but Forward to new solutions of the problems to which Schleiermacher directed attention. His theology is described as syncretistic. It combined elements which, in his time, were regarded as opposites. The result is that two tendencies are manifest in modern estimates of Schleiermacher. Biedermann and Lang have transposed his theology into Hegelian phraseology, and it cannot be denied that in his view of the world there are elements which seem to rest more securely on Hegel's principles. On the other hand, Ritschlians can easily justify their claim to be, in many respects, the successors of Schleiermacher. It is evident, argues Wendland, that his personality is so great that it is not yet fully understood. Sometimes one side of his teaching is clearly stated, but a comprehensive view of his system is not attempted; sometimes in endeavouring to show that it is a unity important details are neglected. An appeal is made to the Berlin Academy of Sciences to publish a critical edition of Schleiermacher's works; the best extant edition of his *Letters* is incomplete, and there is no chronologically arranged edition of his *Sermons*. Braun's recently published (1910) *Selections* is praised because it recognizes that, before Schleiermacher became a great evangelical theologian, he was a great ethical philosopher, and because much hitherto unprinted material is made accessible. An interesting question is raised in the criticism of a work by Stammer, entitled *Schleiermacher's Aestheticism in Theory and Practice*. Emphasis is laid by Stammer on the differences between the *Addresses (Reden)* and the *Sermons*; but Wendland shows that it is incorrect to say that the *Sermons* are less valuable as sources of our knowledge of Schleiermacher's teaching, inasmuch as they contain signs of accommodation to his hearers' beliefs. Dilthey is held to be nearer the truth when he maintains that the *Sermons* expound clearly Schleiermacher's basal principles, and that, if he accommodated himself to any of his hearers, it was in his *Addresses* to the cultured despisers of Christianity. Bousset, in his review of recent works on the 'Textual Criticism of the New Testament,' pays a touching tribute to von Soden, whose edition of the text, with critical apparatus, was completed before his tragic death by accident on the Berlin Underground Railway. 'It is almost impossible to believe that a man who was not only the minister of a city church, but also a University professor, should have been able to plan a work so comprehensive, and in carrying out his plan to manifest so complete a mastery of the great mass of material.'

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*Theologische Literaturzeitung*.—In No. 10 there is an appreciative review, by Professor Geldner, of Marburg, of Dr. James Hope Moulton's Hibbert Lectures on 'Early Zoroastrianism.' Though unable to assent to all the author's hypotheses, the reviewer says that Dr. Moulton has placed his readers on right lines for solving great problems, and that he has corrected erroneous views which have long been held. Special praise is given to the appended translation of the *Gathas*. In No. 11 a monograph on *The Political Activity of the Prophets of Israel*, by Professor Fritz Wilke, is highly commended by Dr. Staerk, of Jena: 'It is a valuable addition to extant histories of prophetism, whether given in handbooks of biblical theology or in separate works.' The author sets himself especially to refute Winckler's theory that the politics of the prophets were exclusively confined to international relations. No support for this theory is found in our documentary sources, and it is contrary to the strong national feeling which underlies so many prophetic utterances. Wilke rightly finds that the prophets, in their political activities, were influenced by two powerful motives, namely, in the first place, the consciousness of the baneful effect on the nation's moral, social, and religious life of intimate political relations with surrounding heathen nations; secondly, the conviction that Israel, in the spiritual mission which was her divinely-appointed world-task, was hindered by the chauvinistic politics of many of the nation's leaders. 'The prophets oppose alliances with foreign nations; they denounce political jingoism; they also unceasingly warn Israel against entanglement in world-politics, because the nation is thereby prevented from fulfilling its divine vocation.' Staerk refers to his own work, *The Assyrian Empire from the Prophet's Point of View*, in which opinions similar to those of Wilke are expressed.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* for May 1 has a careful study of La Rochefoucauld by M. Emile Faguet, who finds no trace of pessimism in the famous *Maximes*. He distinguishes between melancholy, misanthropy, and pessimism. Melancholy is very much a matter of temperament. The basis of it is misanthropy. Pessimism has the same sources; only the pessimist does not hate men, as the misanthropist does. He hates the *ensemble* of things which makes men miserable; he hates the world in which men are, and cannot help being, miserable; he hates Him, if there be any such being, who has organized the world in such a way as that men cannot but be miserable in it. Pessimism is cosmological hatred. It differs from misanthropy in that it may lead or lead back to philanthropy. Pessimism is a bitter melancholy which believes it has found its cause, and which finds that cause in a defective and cruel organism of created things. The writer finds misanthropy in La Rochefoucauld, but no pessimism. He detested men, but he had no horror of God. Not that he was religious, but he did not rail against God, nor did he protest against the organization of the world. He believed that man was without virtue, and that the evil in the

world sprang from that fact. He believed little in human perversity; he simply believed in self-love and in its skill in disguising itself. The great lesson of the *Maximes* is really a lesson in humility, and in that he is Christian, but he is not Christian in the malice with which he teaches the lesson.

The main articles in the April-June number of the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* are on: 'L'intellectualisme de Leibniz,' by M. D. Roland-Gosselin; on 'La causalité de l'intelligence humaine dans la révélation prophétique,' by Father Synave; and on 'Les harmonies de la Transsubstantiation: sacrement et sacrifice,' by M. S. Gillet. There is also a shorter apologetic study on the institution of the sacraments by Father Bugueny, and a biblical-archæological note on 'Achima,' by M. A. Lemonnier. As usual, the extended bulletins are of considerable interest and importance, covering as they do all the recent literature of note in Europe and America. In philosophy much space is devoted to works on Pragmatism and on Religious Philosophy. In the theological section special attention is given to the more important recent works bearing on the history of Christian doctrine, and to recent notable contributions to Christian biography. Among the latter is a sympathetic notice of the new edition, with notes by Mr. Brightman, of the late Dr. Bigg's famous Bampton Lectures on the Christian Platonists of Alexandria, especially Clement and Origen. The writer agrees with Dr. Bigg that the aim of the Alexandrines was to harmonize the revelation of God in Christ with the older revelation of God in Nature. 'They are intellectualist, sometimes to subtlety, but with mystical flights which on some points sin, like Fénelon, by excess of love. Their principal rôle was to defend the Church not only against Noetianism, but against Gnosticism, Chiliasm, Montanism—that is to say, against paganism, sensualism, and fanaticism.'

The *Chinese Review* (April).—This is the first number of a monthly periodical which seeks 'to give the Chinese view on questions of moment and interest.' The editor writes on 'The Eclipse of Young China.' It under-estimated the strength, vitality, and beauty of the conservative spirit in China, and ignored the power of foreign vested interests. Mrs. Archibald Little, in 'China Revisited,' describes the changes which have come over the country. She feels confident 'as to the future progress of the race, the women going forward with the men.'